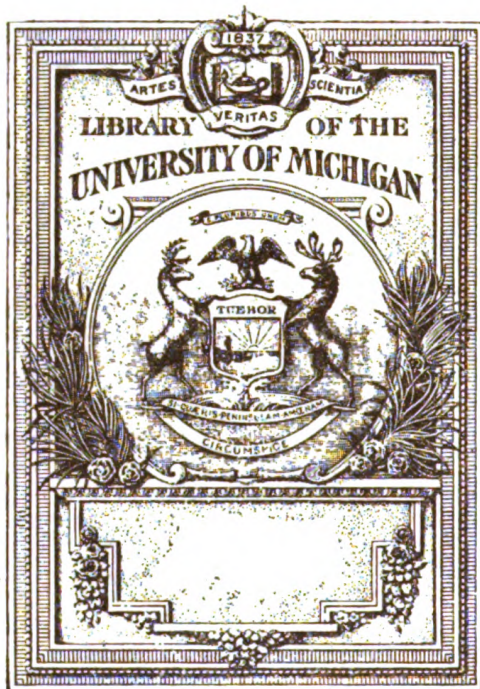


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JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE SOCIETY
NEW SERIES

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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NEW SERIES
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VOLUME VIII PART 1

PRINTED PRIVATELY FOR THE MEMBERS
OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY, GRINDLETON
VICARAGE, CLITHEROE, BY T. AND A.
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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began in 1888, and ended in 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several of the numbers, at the original cost of 5s. each.

The New Series of the Journal began in July 1907, four parts and a supplementary index-part making an annual volume. Copies can still be obtained at the subscription price of £1 for each volume, but they are sold only to members of the Gypsy Lore Society. Single parts cannot always be supplied: when copies are available for sale to members the price is 5s. each, with the exception of the index-parts of Vols. I., III., and IV., for which only 2s. 6d. is charged.

JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOLUME VIII

(1914—1915)

PRINTED PRIVATELY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE GYPSY
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ERRATA

- Page 143, line 7 from foot, *for* Grellman *read* Grellmann.
 „ 194, line 6 from foot, *for* Möti *read* Charles (*al.* Möti).
 „ 198, line 4, *for* Nation Lovell *read* Mary Ann Evans (*al.* Nation Lovell)
 „ 198, line 7 from foot, *for* Mordekai *read* Mordecai.
 „ 263, note 2, *for* Kogalniceanu *read* Kogălniceanu.
 „ 282, note 5, *for* *In Gypsy Tents* *read* *In Gipsy Tents*.

NOTICES.

I.—REPORT.

AT the conclusion of my term of office I have the pleasure of announcing that my successor as President of the Gypsy Lore Society is

PRINCIPAL SIR DONALD MACALISTER, K.C.B., M.A., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

Our new President, besides his distinguished services to Glasgow University, of which he is Principal, and the useful work he is doing as President of the Medical Council, is well known to our members as one of the very few who are able to write Romani verse with distinction. He has been interested in Gypsies since his undergraduate days. The forthcoming volume of our *Journal* will be graced by some further translations from his pen.

The outbreak of war has unfortunately retarded the publication of the *Journal*, and deprived us, only temporarily I trust, of the services of our Hon. Secretary. Mr. Macfie has been succeeded by the Rev. F. G. Ackerley, who will have the active assistance in the editorial work of Mr. E. O. Winstedt and Mr. A. Russell.

During the past year we have published a pedigree of the Heron family compiled by the Rev. George Hall, the great value of which is considerably enhanced by the illuminating notes added by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers. The account of the Coppersmiths' speech by our new Hon. Secretary will be most useful to students, as this is the first grammar of an inflected dialect of Romani that has appeared in English. Pioneer work of this kind has also been done in the description of another new dialect, that of the Drindari, by Mr. Gilliat-Smith. This latter especially is a solid contribution to linguistic science. The event of the year, however, has been the publication of Dr. Black's *Gypsy Bibliography*, the first of a series of Monographs. Two other Monographs have since appeared, a useful index to the Old Series of the *Journal* compiled by Mr. A. Russell, and a reprint of Professor Macalister's account of the 'Language of the Nuri.' The Bibliography is a model of what such works should be, and the Society is under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Black for his arduous labours, and for the knowledge and scholarship he has brought to bear on the task. No public library can afford to neglect this indispensable book of reference.

The statistics of membership are as follows :—

	<i>Libraries, etc.</i>	<i>Individuals.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
At the end of 1912-13, ...	62	131	193
Losses, ...	2	7	9
Accessions, ...	7	8	15
At the end of 1913-14, ...	67	132	199

I regret to record the death of Commandatore Lamberto Loria, Mrs. Willett, and Mr. Walter Theodore Watts-Dunton. Mr. Watts-Dunton was President of the Society in 1909-10. His chief claim to distinction was as a literary critic, but as the creator of 'Sinfì Lovell,' and the poet of 'Rhona Boswell's Love Letter,' he will be best remembered by us in the years to come.

The financial position of the Society has been affected by the war. Fortunately most of the libraries and individual members in countries outside Great Britain that are involved in the conflict had paid their subscriptions in advance, but there will still be a serious deficit. The cost of the Bibliography has been very heavy, and I would urge upon all Members to stand by the Society in this difficult time. If Members will send in their subscriptions punctually they will greatly facilitate the work of the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, and at the same time considerably relieve the financial strain.

Mr. R. A. S. Macfie, to whose enthusiasm we owe the revival in 1907 of our Society after its long sleep, is serving with the Liverpool Scottish in Flanders. My fellow-members, I am sure, join me in good wishes for his safety.

HELEN GROSVENOR.

II.—INDEX TO THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

The present is the first number of the eighth volume of the New Series of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. The Index to the seventh volume, which has been compiled by Mr. Alexander Russell, with title-page and preliminary matter including some important *errata*, will be issued very shortly.

III.—SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Members are reminded that the financial year of the Society runs from July 1 to June 30. The subscription (£1) should now be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Grindleton Vicarage, Clitheroe.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. VIII

YEAR 1914-15

No. 1

I.—Ē TAMLIMÁSKĒ RAIA

*TE 'ves jongadĭ posh-rátĭ, ta shunés greské piré,
Ma prach khevidko diklo, te dikés 'rē drom talé.
Te puchés kekéndē chi, na penén kek khokhibén :
Dik k'i vaver rig, mi chai, kan' ē Raiā kisterén !
Biti graiā besh-ta-panch
Rati prastavéna,
Tato-pani k'o Rashái,
Tuv k'o mursh andéna,
Parr k'i bári ráni, lil ke—yon junén :
Niser shero okotár, kan' ē Raiā kisterén !*

*Te prastés posh druba kosht, ta lhatésa turalĭ
Pandilĭ kálé shelénsa, pardi sherno mol si-lĭ.
Ma kár kekésti "Dita 'doi !" ; ma kel 'dolása kek :
Chiv ē koshtā pálē páp'lē ; kalikó na 'chela yek !*

*Te dikésas 'mári stanya ta gudár te 'chel piró ;
Te dikésas bita grai te sovél odói kinó ;
Te ti dai sivélas chokha, kotoréndi chingerdĭ,
Ta kindĭ taté ratésa—ma tu puch kek-kómi chi !*

VOL. VIII.—NO. 1.

A

*Te venas kraliséskē lalē-chokhiéngre 'kai,
Keser tuya so penés, riger so shunés ke mai.
Te kár'nas "raik'ni rakli" tut, ta munjer'nas ti cham,
Ma tu puká kai jala yov, ná kai amé giám !*

*Te kur'nas, pir'nas trushal ker—te denas shol ratt—
Mankē jukelá boshéna, na shan tu te jes avrí.
Ak'o Tacho 'kai, ta Munjer 'koi, te kashukés beshén !
Yon na chalavéna pen, kan' ē Raiā kisterén.*

*Tachibén ! te kesas tu so pendom mē anglál,
Yek prekhti kuk'li 'vela tut teméstē duríál,
Ta raik'ni bita kufa, ta kēsh'ni plokhta tai—
O dēibén Raiéndē ke 'jas'vi kushki chai !
Biti graiā besh-ta-panch
Rati prastavéna,
Tato-pani k'o Rashái,
Tuv k'o mursh andéna,
Parr k'i bári ráni, lil ke—yon junén :
Ta chiv kapa top tē 'khā, kan' ē Raiā kisterén !*

DONALD MACALISTER,
President.

A SMUGGLER'S SONG

If you wake at midnight, and hear a horse's feet,
Don't go drawing back the blind, or looking in the street.
Them that asks no questions isn't told a lie :
Watch the wall, my darling, while the Gentlemen go by !
Five and twenty ponies
Trotting through the dark—
Brandy for the Parson,
'Baccy for the clerk ;
Laces for a lady, letters for a spy,
And watch the wall, my darling, while the Gentlemen go by !
Running round the woodlump if you chance to find
Little barrels, roped and tarred, all full of brandy-wine,
Don't you shout to come and look, nor use 'em for your play.
Put the brushwood back again—and they'll be gone next day !
If you see the stable-door setting open wide ;
If you see a tired horse lying down inside ;
If your mother mends a coat cut about and tore ;
If the lining's wet and warm—don't you ask no more !
If you meet King George's men, dressed in blue and red,
You be careful what you say, and mindful what is said.
If they call you 'pretty maid,' and chuck you 'neath the chin,
Don't you tell where no one is, nor yet where no one's been !

Knocks and footsteps round the house—whistles after dark—
You've no call for running out till the house-dogs bark.
Trusty's here, and *Pincher's* there, and see how dumb they lie—
They don't fret to follow when the Gentlemen go by !

If you do as you've been told, 'likely there's a chance,
You'll be give a dainty doll, all the way from France,
With a cap of Valenciennes, and a velvet hood—
A present from the Gentlemen, along o' being good !
Five and twenty ponies . . .

RUDYARD KIPLING.

(Reprinted by kind permission of Mr Rudyard Kipling.)

II.—THE CHÔVIHÂN

I.

THERE is a smother of heather smoke wafted from the turf a-fire on the Wimborne Road. It penetrates into the caravan, and its chokiness adds to the breathless heat. From first thing this morning the farm-carts are bringing in loads of 'spire' from the bogs on the farther common; the horses have great bunches of bracken and horse-chestnut leaves tied over each ear to keep off the flies and midges.

The hottest day of the year has begun. Nevertheless all morning I am hard at work, preparing and cooking a dinner. And the dinner I am preparing is a savoury one, for in these hot summer days one only cooks once a week. It consists of stuffed roast duck, French beans and new potatoes, followed by a stew of red currants and logan berries. . . . With the humming of bees in the bramble blossom in the hedge, the day wore on. . . . At length cool evening came. I was sitting on the grass outside my van, a cup of tea in hand, when a curious mumbling attracted my attention. A voice that went muttering to itself all along the hedge; a mad voice that chattered of *verdels*, Romani *Raunies* and *māshes*; and as I stood up to look at the owner of this strange voice, a face peered through the hedge. It was the curious crone—yet not so old, either—whom I had come across seated by the thorn bushes above the dip-well, along with the little child, the day of Ringwood Fair. She was staring through a gap in the turf bank, beckoning me with a brown forefinger; and as I hesitated, urging me in the same curious medley of languages to come over

and talk to her. 'Ah do, my dear!' croaked she. And at last I obeyed; approaching with caution, I stood up on the bank and looked down on her.

'Where's the *tikno*?' were the first words I said.

'The *tikno*'s *jaled* on,' she answered.

And as I approached even nearer still, the confused mumbling and muttering began again. A rambling story, like some one in delirium, or talking in her sleep, about *bori raunies*, *pantch bar*, *dukerin*, and *balgoriya*. Leaning her brown face farther through the hedge thorns:

'I'm a deep *Romani*!' she whispered. And all at once she made a sudden swoop and seized hold of my hand. Turning it palm upward, she held on to it like grim death. I tried to snatch it away. 'It's a *vasavo vast*!' I protested. 'I can see that as well as you! And I don't want any *dukerin*! I don't want any *boro Rai*. And I don't want any *romaben*!'

She stared at me in a peculiar way.

'*Muk mandy duker tuti's vast mi cocores*!'

I gave it to her at last. Grasping my hand tightly, as if to prevent my tearing it away from her, she peered closely into the palm of it, tracing the lines with a brown finger, and muttering extremely queer things over them.

I could stand it no longer. 'That's a *vasavo* line, that is,' I said, growing desperate. 'There's *wafudi*-ness in it and everything else. I don't want to hear it. I——' And I vainly endeavoured to pull it away from her. But she held on with an iron grip, continuing to mutter of prophesies, warnings and prognostications of evil, ending up every sentence with a solemn, 'And the Lord be with you!'

My blood ran cold to hear her.

'*Mandy kom tuti*,' she rehearsed in *Romani* rhyme,

'And *tuti kom mandy*

If *tuti* can't *kom mandy*

Then the *beng te lel tuti*!'

Suddenly she changed her note. 'Listen!' Her light-coloured eyes glittered fiercely. She dragged me, still captive by the hand, nearer to herself, heedless of the hedge thorns and brambles. 'Listen! What's *bango*?'

'Left—*bango*'s left,' I answered, and I held out my left hand, hoping that she would relinquish the other, which luckily for me she immediately did.

'Bango's prison,' she whispered.

She tried me with another word :

'What's *ivimengro*?' I shook my head.

Word after word she tried on me, and with every right answer I gave she flung up her face to the sky and gave vent to a screeching howl.

'A *tringarushi*' was her next demand. I gave her sixpence, all I had ; and hoped I should now be rid of her, for she gave me the cold shudders.

I was never more mistaken. She caught hold of my right hand again, dragging it under the thorns, wrenched it, squeezed it so hard that I thought the bones would crack under her iron grip ; stared me in the face to see if my courage was giving way ; and finally wrung it as if she were wringing a rag and threw it away from her. She next seized my left hand. (I can only suppose that I must have been mesmerized to stand there quite still and let her do as she would. That is, at least, the only way in which I can account for it.)

She took my left hand and kissed it. Finally she said very clear and sharp : 'Look me in the face!' Very foolishly be it confessed, but her spell was upon me, I looked her straight in the eyes. Hard, glittering, steely-grey eyes they were.

'That 'll do now,' she said.

To my great relief my pretty Gypsy came down the road with a raspberry-basket in each hand ; for the raspberry picking was now in full swing. She stood still and looked from one to the other with somewhat of a mocking smile. I beckoned her, in my turn, to come up to the hedge. In her turn she also obeyed, and stood by me. In silence together we watched the witch woman's figure crawl away up the road under the Seven Firs. We watched her out of sight. Then my pretty Gypsy said :

'I shouldn't go near her no more if I was you.'

'I believe she is *divi*,' I announced.

'I believe she is *divi* ! *Valgoriya*'s fair,' she added.

'What ?'

'*Valgoriya*, what she kep' on about ; that's *fair*.'

'Yes, but there's no fair that I know of about here now. I can't think what she means.'

'I don't believe she knows what she's a-sayin' of, herself. Drunk, she is. *Moto* as anything!'

'She made me look her in the face. That's to cast a spell over me.'

'Ah overlook you!' assented she. 'I believe she could. She came in to me t'other day and frightened me. Kep' on kissin' me and such like. Put my two thumbs into her mouth, and said it was for luck. I don't like such goin's on, myself.'

As I ran back across the ferny field I saw my aunt, who was lodging for a few weeks in yonder house of ill-luck, down the long green lane, sitting on a camp-stool on the shady side of my caravan. 'Come away, do! You'd better wash your hands,' were the words with which she greeted me.

'Yes, do, my dears! *I'll* come and help you!' shrilled a dreaded voice behind the hedge.

The witch had come back directly our backs were turned, like some crafty animal of the wilds. She was there again, staring at us under the thorns.

'Hush!' I warned my aunt. 'She's heard you.'

And I ran up my caravan steps to dip my hands, and to make sure my silver ring—the ring of Romany fellowship which the Gypsy painter had given me—was still on my third finger; and as I ran back to my aunt, I sang a snatch of a Gypsy song that had just then come into my mind, I knew not why:

'She opened the door, and all the words she spoke :
My chimney do want sweeping, I'm stifled here with smoke.'

'Here, I say! You're making a great noise to-night,' called out my brother from the little tent under the fir tree, where he was vainly endeavouring to write a letter.

Dusk fell. We sat at supper in the yellow van, my brother and I, discussing the day's doings; and as I told him all that had befallen me with the witch, while the heath darkened and the stars sparkled through the branches of the fir tree, he made a remark that to a house-dweller would sound queer—very much beside the mark indeed. But then we are not house-dwellers, but caravan-dwellers. What he said was: 'It's a pity you made me destroy that snake-skin.'

'What remains of it,' I said, 'is hanging up in the little oak tree.'

The owls hooted, the watch-dogs barked. It grew quite dark. The hottest day of all the year was ending—ending with strange rumblings and thunderings, rolling over the hummocky hills of

the Avon river ; with a smothering smell of burning heather, and smouldering wood, filling all my caravan.

I raised myself in bed and drew aside the chintz window-curtain. Was the Yellow Caravan afire ? I looked again. There did seem to be an eerie glow by the off front wheel. Had the furze litter under the steps got alight by some mischance ? The hollow rumblings rolled again over the river hills. And as I still gazed out of my window I saw a ball of fire flash down from the sky under the grey smoke clouds. Flash after flash skimmed along the ridges, and vast billows of smoke followed the flashes ; with lightning above and earth-fire beneath, the hottest day of the whole year was closing—a flaming heaven and a blazing earth.

II.

I was standing up in the hedge buying cups and saucers from Johnny the Oilman, whose cart had just come up the road, when a voice struck chill through my veins. A voice that shrilled an incoherent babble of words, and that drew nearer every moment. The terror of the hill, their 'wild mad dog of the Forest,' was coming up at a bounding pace. Her evil light-coloured eyes lit up with a strange, unmeaning stare when she caught sight of me. 'O my old dears!' she muttered. 'There you is! O, my pretty ladies!' And with her continuous patter of *boro rais*, *romani raunis*, *mūshes*, and what not, she stood stock still watching my movements.

'Mandy's butien,' I said, moving her off with a gesture of my head. 'Kinen' covas off the *mūsh*,' I added shortly. 'Kinen'! Ah!' The crone had stopped short of the cart, her evil gaze fastened on my face. She now came round by the horse's head, and threading her way in between the wheels and the hedge, she threw up her skinny arms, thrust her face forward, opened her mouth so wide as to disclose her lolling tongue, and at the same time stared with her eyes, fixing a peculiarly wild, glittering gaze upon me—glassy and sightless and yet seeing.

I drew back as if I had been stung by a viper ; I fell a-trembling so that I shook from head to foot. My brother, watching these things from the caravans, came up the field and stood by me. He took the cups and saucers from my trembling hands, examining them closely. They were cracked and useless, and as soon as Johnny the Oilman came down out of his cart again, he told him so. Now Johnny the Oilman, though almost stone deaf, had the use of his

eyes. He threw a comprehensive glance at the witch, then at ourselves, and made haste to his horse's head. It was quite evident that pink cups and saucers, especially broken ones, had lost their interest for me all of a sudden, and that some disturbing element had entered into the proceedings whilst he was rummaging in his cart for more china. He nodded several times in great haste, and drew the horse farther on up the road. At the same time, another form, that of the farm-mistress, with a haggard countenance which was entirely devoid of any colour and of a greenish pallor, crept up behind the haystack, watching the group.

I was speaking a few words to the hag below the hedge. She stood rooted to the spot, attracted and repelled at the same instant by the solemn warning I was uttering.

'That's not *Romanes*,' she said very sharply. It was easy to see my change of attitude had 'brought her up with a round turn.' 'Whatever it is,' I answered slowly, 'it's the truth I'm telling you,' and hereupon I added several other words to my previous warning, of still graver portent. She lowered her voice—her tone had quite changed. 'They tells me up there at the tents as you is afraid of me,' she whispered confidentially. 'So I am,' I answered, 'when you're drunk. And you've been *lelin*' some *levinor* now,' I added sternly, as I retraced my steps after my brother, who had gone back to the Yellow Caravan, an oil-can in each hand.

'*Jal on! Mûsh a velin!*' I further warned her, as I stood half-way up the steps. The farm-mistress had crept up to the caravans unnoticed by either of us.

'Is that the woman you mean?' Her white lips could hardly frame the words.

'Yes, that's her. O dear, how ill she does make me feel!'

'She come to me,' whispered the farm-mistress, 'and asked me for a match, and I gave her a whole boxful. And then she started *blowing at me with her mouth*, like this, and I says to her, "What's that for?" "It's for *when I sees you again*," she says. And I goes out to call in the cows, but I didn't know what I was a-doin' of. I never heard tell of such strange goin's on, and it upset me dreadful! Exactly like the devil it was. Just exactly like the devil. Has she gone?' The farm-mistress looked at the hedge.

'No, she's not.'

The witch was walking backwards, her eyes still drawn in our direction. 'May the Lord go with you!' she shrilled. 'The Lord be with you every step of the way!'

Then she thrust her face through the hedge.

'Has you got a house?'

'No, I haven't, no more than yourself.'

'O, the Gypsy lady! The Gypsy lady! *Shûn* me now!' and she burst into her old Romany refrain.

'Mandy kom tuti

And tuti kom mandy

If tuti kek kom mandy

Then the beng te lel tuti!'

I slowly descended the steps and stood down in the field, my arms folded. '*Jal a-vesh* and *jal to sutars!*' I commanded her.

Nevertheless I felt sick and ill at ease, and when my aunt came up to the camp that evening I flung myself down at her feet in the grass, complaining dismally and demanding comfort. I could settle to nothing more that night.

And I was all alone in the camp.

My brother had gone into the town six miles away. My aunt had gone home to her lodging in the unlucky house down the long green lane. The moon had not yet risen behind the big dusty fir tree across the road. At last I summoned up resolution to draw water from the cart-shed pump before it got pitch dark in there and before the sliding-door was shut. I filled and boiled the kettles and put on the porridge-pot. I washed up the day's dinner things outside on the table by the caravan wheel. And the farm-mistress came up with the evening's milk. She seemed a trifle less depressed.

'I'm going to make myself a cup o' tea,' she announced, 'and turn in early.'

There came before my mind's eye the protruding face, the open mouth, the staring eyes, the outstretched arms of the witch-hag.

'Don't for goodness' sake go to bed till my brother comes back. If that woman comes back and frightens me all alone here in the dark, I should have to kill her.'

'Kill her?' The farm-mistress looked up aghast.

'Certainly! Kill her! In self-defence. However, I've put my own spell by my caravan door, so perhaps——'

'Let's see it! Where is it?' She saw, heard, and recoiled. Among the reeds and bog-myrtle on my footboard, the dry snake-skin swung and rustled in the wind that blows up each night from the sea.

III.—A LOAN TO A SCOTTISH GYPSY

By G. W. SHIRLEY

THE Scottish Gypsies in the sixteenth century, when in favour of the Crown and before they came under its displeasure, must have acquired considerable wealth. An interesting sidelight upon this is the following entry transcribed from the records of the Burgh Court of Dumfries under the date 21st June 1564:—

‘The burrow court of the burrow of Drumfreis haldin in the tolbuycht of the samyn be George Maxvall provest, Amer maxvell and James rig balleis of the said bur^t the xxj day of Junij anno &c LX q^{ro} suttis callit, court affermit, absentis amercit as maner is. . . .

The qlk day in presens of the provest, ballies and consale of Drumfres conveneit in the tolbuycht of the samyn James hannow sherwand to george faw egiptiane and alex^r leiss scottisman sheruand to Robert Makcullo^c burgess in Kirkeudbry^t vpon ane vrittin of the said george faw send w^t thaim to george maxvell provest of Drumfreis [to the effect that he] hes resawit fra thomas batye burges of the samyn ane cannopy of reid taffiteis ane velwot dowblatt of canny [? canvy] cullo^r ane signet of gold ane velwot coit but slevis raisit on sattyng qlkis the said thomas batie had in vad of the said george faw [as] vrittin. Off the qlk sovm the said thomas grantit him to haif resawit to ane gud compt auchtene pundis xss and sua ristis thretti schillingis and xxxd quharfor he hes haldin tua small gold ringis in void and sua the said provest and balleis exonerit the said thomas of the rist of the saidis voddis be deliuerance of the samyn in maner abone vrittin at ther commandis Quhervpon the said thomas batye requirit act and noit in face of court.’

The transaction is not so mystical as appears at first sight. George Faw, egyptian, requiring some money, borrowed it from Thomas Beattie (Batie), burgess of Dumfreis, and gave him in pledge a canopy of red taffety, a velvet doublet of a colour named but not known to the writer, a signet of gold, a sleeveless coat of velvet ‘raised’ on satin, and two small gold rings. For these articles Beattie lent him £20, 2s. 6d. Scots. Our transaction deals

with the repayment of the money. George Faw repaid Beattie £18, 10s, and Beattie returned all the articles except the two small gold rings. These Beattie retained as pledges for the £1, 12s. 6d. undischarged. To put the transaction on record George Faw sent two men, James Hannow (? Hannay), his own servant, and Alexander Leiss, servant to Robert M'Culloch in Kirkcudbright, with a letter, giving the facts, to the Provost of Dumfries, George Maxwell. This they produced at the Burgh Court held in the Tolbooth before the Provost, and two bailies, Amer Maxwell and James Rig, Beattie being present. The letter was read, and Beattie formally discharged of the delivered goods, on which he claimed an extract from the minutes.

IV.—SCOTO-ROMANI AND TINKLERS' CANT

Twenty Sources Arranged and Edited

By ALEXANDER RUSSELL

THE fate of the Romani language in Scotland is analogous to that of the Romani blood. It is reasonable to suppose that the band of Anthonius Gagino, Count of Little Egypt, and the Gypsies who 'acted several plays' in the stanks of Roslin spoke 'deep' Romani, but no one at the time seems to have had sufficient curiosity to endeavour to secure a list of their words. Did such a list exist, its discovery would bring as much joy to the heart of the *Romano Rai* as the unearthing of papyri from the sands of Egypt brings to the student of Greek. It is true that well-known scholars have suggested that the Gypsy names in Scottish documents of 1505, 1540, and 1553 conceal some good Romani words, but though, for the sake of completeness, these have been included in the following Vocabulary, it must remain doubtful whether such interpretation is correct or not. Long before we reach the date of our first Scoto-Romani list, the Gypsies of Scotland—probably because they were too few in number to stand alone in a poor and troublous country—had amalgamated with the Tinkers, a nomad class whose ethnology is still a puzzle. Through this union 'the Gypsy stream broadened out, and became correspondingly shallow,' though even yet the Romani prepotency of race produces now and again among the Tinkers an approach to the nobler stock. The

Romani tongue in like manner was debased by the cant or secret jargon of the Tinkers, losing not only all its inflexions but most of its roots as well. The few hundred Romani words that survive lend a dignity to Scottish-Tinker Cant that elevates it above the jargon of the English Tinker, and entitles it to a place of its own in the Anglo-Romani Thesaurus.

Most interesting of all are those words, to which both Borrow and Groome have called attention, surviving in the Scottish-Gypsy dialect, but lost in the English. These are *curdie*, *kalshes*, *klisti*, *morghee*, *puška*; *datchen* (recorded in one well-known song for Anglo-Romani), *musi* (found in the dialect of Wales, but unknown in that of England), *shukar* (found only as adverb in Anglo-Romani) and *teeyakas* (*téhi*, etc.). Again, the following words in Scoto-Romani retain a purer form than in the English dialect: *andri*, *forge*, *praw*; while, if we take Smart and Crofton's forms as representative of the English dialect, we find that the Scottish forms retain the vowel *a* of the Continental and original forms, which has broadened to *o* in Anglo-Romani. Thus, against Smart and Crofton's *kongri*, *kosht*, *mong*, *nok*, *porno*, *yog*, *yok*, *yoro*, we have *kangri*, *kasti*, *mang*, *nak*, *parnie*, *yag*, *yak*, *yaro*.¹ Words retaining aspiration now lost in the Anglo-Romani forms are *rūkh*, *thouin*, *thōwi*, *thud*. These differences are perhaps to be explained by regarding the majority of present-day English Gypsies as descendants of a later immigration than that of those who left their mark on the Tinker Cant of Scotland, though the variation in vowel sounds might be due only to the influence of the local dialects of English.

The lists collected in Galloway, Arran, Argyll, Perthshire, Caithness, and Orkney all contain *Shelta*, an element not found in the vocabularies from the South and the East. We might expect Caithness and Orkney to be without *Shelta*, as these are not Gaelic-speaking counties, but the Tinkers of Orkney, and probably those of Caithness also, travel in Skye and the Lewis. The *Shelta* element in the Galloway list is probably due to intercourse with Ireland.

The same lists contain Gaelic; and a few words from this language appear also in the vocabularies of Simson, Baird, and Wear.

Old English Cant is common to all the lists except that from Tiree, which is purely *Shelta*. This element, probably the

¹ But see Simson's remark on this sound, quoted below.

original jargon of the Tinkers, is fundamentally English: obsolete words like *been*, *cappel*, *elsins*, *frod*, *howfie*, *mashlam*; onomatopoeic or echoic words like *clocker*, *fluff*, *grùfi*, *grùmfi*, *kecklers*, *kranshers*, *me*, *mi*, *meoutcat*, *neowinchaet*, *pluffan*, *quacker*, *rattler*, *routler*, *tatters*, *tattler*, *yaffin*, *yelper*; ordinary English words used in a figurative sense and often disguised by a suffix not added to such words in the literary language, e.g. *bawks*, *blawkie*, *blinkam*, *blinker*, *blinkie*, *blinklum*, *blinkman*, *catchies*, *darkie*, *darkment*, *dreeper*, *flaffer*, *glimmen*, *glimmer*, *hinger*, *hornie*, *jaglers*, *lightment*, *ogle*, *prancie*, *prinkler*, *watches*, *wattle*, *waxie*, *weed*, *winkler*. In addition, we have in this element a few loan-words from Latin, French, and German, for which see Vocabulary.

PHONETICS

Among the various collectors only four, Simson, M'Cormick, Wear and Thompson, refer to the phonetic systems they have followed in writing down their lists, and of these Simson remarks on three sounds only: 'The letter *a* is pronounced broad in their language, like *aw* in paw, or *a* in water; and *ie* or *ee* in the last syllable of a great many words are sounded short and quick; and *ch* soft, as in church' (*History of the Gipsies*, 315-16). M'Cormick follows the system used by Smart and Crofton in their *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, while Wear's second list uses that issued to the G. L. S. in 1910, and Thompson employs one somewhat similar. The following table exhibits the relationship between these systems:

S.	<i>a</i>	.	..	..	.	..	.	ie, ee	.	.	..	.	..	..	..	<i>ch</i>
M.	<i>au,aw</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>ou ch</i>
W2.	<i>aw</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>e</i>	..	<i>i</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>yû</i>	<i>ù</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>ou tsh</i>
T.	<i>â</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>ù</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>oi</i>		

Wilson's Shelta list is spelt according to Gaelic phonetics; the other collectors spell on the analogy of English words. Nothing shows better than the Vocabulary here arranged the need of a standard phonetic system. Had such a system been used by all the collectors, many good pages of type might have been saved, not to speak of ink, time and temper.

Of phonetic interchanges, that of *k* and *t*, common to English and Romani, can be well illustrated from this collection. Examples are *akkom*, *âtta*; *brickle*, *brittle*; *chatters*, *tshakas*; *munticler*, *muncric-clear*; *plank*, *plant*; *raccan*, *rattan*; *rakli*,

ratli; *tshùkli*, *chutli*. Examples of interchange or confusion among the liquids are *cutlan*, *cutler*; *gùrni*, *gouni*; *kangri*, *kanlie*; *lellam*, *lennam*; *muni*, *muris*; *pani*, *paurie*; *yaro*, *yanus*.

INFLEXIONS AND SUFFIXES

Inflections and suffixes may be best considered under two heads: (a) Romani, (b) English.

(a) The Romani inflections that have survived in this dialect are so few that nearly all the words in which they occur are here given:—

- (1) *a*, nom. plur. of subs.; *dana*, *yaka*. This survival is probably due to the fact that 'tooth' and 'eye' do not take the *s* of the regular plural, the former making its plural by vowel change, and the latter having, in Northern English at least, the plural *een*.
- (2) *a*, voc. sing.; *deia*, *riah*.
- (3) *engro*, gen. plur.; *gavangri*, *gavingle*, *yagengro*, *yag-ingrims*.
- (4) *eno*, adj.; *gájeno*, *gáveno*.
- (5) *es*, acc. sing.; *dick a gadges*, I see a man.
- (6) *o*, *i*, *e*, *a* of adjs. survive in many words, but the grammatical significance of these has been lost. See *baro* in the Vocabulary.
- (7) *do*, past partic.; *chinda*, *purdi*.
- (8) *as*, 1 plur. imperat.; *shannas*, listen [let us listen].
- (9) *an*, 2 plur. imperat.; *jan*, go.

(b) The English suffixes are important, not in themselves, but because they alone, being used with the English and the Romani roots alike, give something of unity to the Vocabulary, and prevent it from being merely a collection of heterogeneous elements deliberately culled from various sources as occasion requires.

- (1) *ed* and the Northern form *id* or *it* (past partic. and past tense): *akhomed*, *jawd*, *marred*, *moolit*, *mordid*, *moulid*, *pinded*, *plank'd*, *tested*.
- (2) *er* (agent): *blinker*, *borers*, *brickler*, *clocker*, *crocker*, *deeker*, *féker*, *flaffer*, *gawvers*, *glimmer*, *hawer*, *hinger*, *jaglers*, *kattler*, *kecklers*, *kérer*, *masser*, *mufler*, *nasher*, *prinkler*, *quacker*, *rattler*, *reeler*, *rouler*, *routler*, *seefer*, *sheepers*, *shinder*, *swinger*, *swisher*, *tatters*, *tattler*, *tickler*, *winkler*, *wiper*, *yelper*.

- (3) *ie* (with diminutive force in literary Eng., but not always here): *battie, beenlightie, blawkie, blinkie, bummie, buntie, carlie, catchies, cleechie, coories, cowlie, culbrollie, curdie, darkie, dicklie, dillie, fichtie, flimsie, gaidie, garrie, Glazie, heefie, hornie, howfie, kaidie, kiddie, liggie, linkie, lupie, maachtie, maisie, mutie, neddie, outhrie, paupeenie, pinkie, pookie, poskie, powiskie, rattie, theekie, wapsie, waxie*. In many words in the Arran list this suffix takes the form *i*.
- (4) *ing* and its Northern forms *in, an, am* (present participle): *blinkam, fekkam, fluffan, glimmen, gribin, jawing, pluffan, saloven, shunen, spracham, wilden, yaffin*.
- (5) *kin*: *pushkin*. See s.v. *raunkeen*.
- (6) *ment, man*: *aukaman, beenlightment, belliment, bettiment, blinkman, bulliment, darkment, deekment, dickman, rockman, salliment*.
- (7) *ness*: *shanas, shukarness*.
- (8) *ship*: *beenship*.
- (9) *s* of plur., can be taken by practically all nouns. Examples of Romani nouns taking this English suffix are *ingrimis, kálshes, kashties, moozies, pauvers, shavies, teeyakas, yaks, yarras*.

AUTHORITIES, WITH THE ABBREVIATIONS USED TO DENOTE THEM, AND THE LOCALITIES AND DATES OF THE VARIOUS COLLECTIONS

- S1. Simson: *History of the Gipsies*, pp. 292, 293, 295-6, 296-7, 300, 305-6, 327, 328. (Fifeshire and Stirlingshire. Collected from tinkers called Baillie, Jamieson, M'Donald, M'Ewan, Ross and Andrew Steedman.) [This book was in manuscript a number of years before it was printed; on p. 64 it states that the words were 'for the most part' collected between 1817 and 1831.]
- S2. Simson: *History of the Gipsies*, pp. 313-15. (Roxburghshire.) One hundred and thirty-one of Simson's words are reprinted in *The Gypsy and Folk-Lore Gazette*, i. 131-2, where it is said they are from an undated edition of Bampfylde Moore Carew, but Smart and Crofton, *Dialect*, p. 4, say 'most of the Gypsy words were republished in *The Adventures of Bamp-*

fylde Moore Carew, London, W. Tegg, 1873; and several of them are quoted by Dr. Paspati.'

- Bd. Baird: *First Report of the Committee for the Reformation of the Gipsies in Scotland*, pp. 32-6. 1840. (Yetholm.) This list is reprinted in W. Baird's *Memoir of the late Rev. John Baird*, pp. 74-80 (1862), and in Simson, pp. 334-5 (forty-eight words only).
- Bw. Borrow: *Romano Lavolil*, pp. 261-73 of 1907 edition. [Visit paid to Queen Esther Faa Blythe at Yetholm, August 1866.]
- Gr. Groome: *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 20 [from Queen Esther] and *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, Introduction, p. lxi.
- L. Lucas: *The Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, pp. 34-53. 1882. [From Queen Esther.]
- Md. Morwood: *Our Gypsies*, p. 66. 1885. [Fifteen words copied, with two misprints, from Simson.]
- Wn. Wilson (G. A.) in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 121-2. 1889. (Tiree, Argyll.)
- R. Ranking (D. Fearon) in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 319-20. 1890. (Crinan, Argyll.)
- C. List obtained by Dr. Alexander Carmichael in Arran, 1895. First published by Mr. David MacRitchie in a paper entitled 'Shelta: The Cairds' Language,' in *The Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xxiv., 1899-1901.¹
- M. M'Cormick: *The Tinkler Gypsies*. 2nd edition, 1907. [This letter is used to denote parts of this book other than the columns of the Appendix.]
- M1. M'Cormick: *The Tinkler Gypsies*, pp. ix-xxiv. (Galloway.)
- M2. M'Cormick: *The Tinkler Gypsies*, pp. ix-xxiv. (Perthshire and Argyll.)
- M3. M'Cormick: *Aaron Gow the Gypsy Blacksmith*. 1908. [Contains a few Tinker words.]
- O. Manuscript List of Mr. William R. C. Rossie, Stromness. [Obtained from the wife of Robbie Newland, daughter of Isaac Macafee, in July 1908.]
- MR. MacRitchie: 'The Speech of the Roads' in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Sept. 1911.

¹ I am indebted to Mrs. W. J. Watson, editor of the *Celtic Review*, for kind permission to reprint this list of her father's. My special thanks are due also to Mr. R. A. S. Macfie, to Provost M'Cormick, and to Mr. MacRitchie for the loan of books needed in writing this paper, and to Messrs. Don. B. Gunn, Wm. R. C. Rossie, and T. W. Thompson for the use of their collections of Cant words.

- W1. Wear: 'A Short Tinkers' Vocabulary' in *The Gypsy and Folk-Lore Gazette*, i. 20-1. 1912. (Northumberland.)
- W2. Wear: 'A Short Account of the Trav'lers of Central Northumberland' in *The Gypsy and Folk-Lore Gazette*, i. 99-104. 1912. [Collected in 1911-12 from a member of the Angus family.]
- G. Manuscript List of Mr. Don. B. Gunn. [Obtained from Hugh Macphee in the neighbourhood of Halkirk, Caithness, 1912.]
- F. Findlater (Jane H.): 'The Little Tinker; or Freewill and Adoption' in *The Cornhill Magazine*, August 1913. [A few Tinker words on pp. 218, 222, 225, 226, 227.]
- T. Manuscript List of T. W. Thompson. [Collected in and near Kendal in 1910-13 from (a) Lizzie Varey, wife of Hubert Smith, son of Shandres and Lavinia; (b) Julia Macfarlane (man); (c) Billy Macfarlane, son of (b); (d) Dick Lowther and his son Tom; (e) Isaac Miller; (f) George William Miller, now husband of Vensa Smith, daughter of Shandres and Lavinia; (g) Tommy Smith (*gajo*), husband of Violet Lee, daughter of Oliver and Julia; (h) Tommy Young.]

The 'pretty little slang Romany song' at p. 169 of L. A. Smith's *Through Romany Songland* contains nothing worth including in the Vocabulary.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- A. S. Anglo-Saxon as in Sweet: *The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*. 1897.
- B. and L. Barrère and Leland: *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant*. Revised ed. 1897.
- B. E. *A New Dictionary of the Canting Crew* by B. E. Gent. Reprint.
- C. D. *Dictionary of Flash or Cant Language*. 1827.
- Cant. Acad. Canting Academy* [by Richard Head]. 1674.
- Eng. English.
- Eng. Rogue. Rich. Head: *English Rogue*. 1668.
- Fr. French.
- Gaelic.¹ Macleod and Dewar: *A Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*. MDCCCXXI.
- Haggart. *The Life of David Haggart*. Written by himself. MDCCCXXI.
- Harman. *A Caueat or Warening for Common Cursetors*. E. E. T. S. MDCCCLXIX. (Reprinted 1898.)

¹ In a few of the Shelta notes Gael. denotes Irish Gaelic.

- Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. New Ed. 1874.
- Ješ. *Románi Čib* von P. Josef Ješina. 1886.
- Leland. *The Gypsies* by Charles G. Leland. 1882.
- M. E. Middle English.
- M. and S. Mayhew and Skeat: *A Concise Dictionary of Middle English*. MDCCCLXXXVIII.
- Mik. Miklosich: *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*. 1872-80.
- O. E. Old English.
- O. E. D. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford.
- O. F. Old French.
- O. N. Old Norse.
- Pasp. Paspati: *Études sur les Tchinghianés*. 1870.
- Potter. *A New Dictionary of the Cant and Flash Languages*. 1790.
- S. and C. Smart and Crofton: *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*. 2nd Ed. 1875.
- von S. Rudolf v. Sowa: *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*. 1898.

METHOD OF ARRANGEMENT

The purest form is used as catch-word, followed by the meanings gathered from all the lists. Then come all the recorded instances in their original spelling. Lastly, within square brackets, are given derivations and parallels. For Romani words parallels are taken, as a rule, from S. and C. and von S. With regard to the Shelta element, in the absence of a complete Shelta Vocabulary, I have had to be content, having little Irish and less Gaelic, to give references to the pages of our *Journal* where such words are recorded. The Cant words are the most difficult to derive, and I have left many of them unsolved. Where a Cant word is entered in *O. E. D.*, I give no other reference. In the case of Cant words not in *O. E. D.*, parallels are given from early Cant dictionaries; many of these have been supplied by the kindness of Mr. E. O. Winstedt. Where I suggest a derivation for a hitherto unsolved word, I do so with diffidence, bearing in mind the warning of the late Prof. Skeat that every man thinks 'that he can drive, and that he can derive.' An alphabetical index of English meanings has been added to show the range of this vocabulary and the great number of synonyms it contains.

VOCABULARY

1. *a*, the, Wn.; *air a charan*, on the sea, Wn.; *air a sgeamhas*, drunk, 'on the spree,' Wn. [Gaelic *a*, the.] See *an*.
2. *aan*. See *av*.
3. *ain*, one, C. [Gaelic *aon*.]
4. *air*, on: *air a charan*, on the sea, Wn.; *air an lanach*, on the highway, Wn.; *air a sgeamhas*, drunk, 'on the spree,' Wn. [Gaelic *air*, on.]
5. *aizel*, ass, cuddy, donkey, S1., S2., M1., M. 444; *eisel*, Bd.; *asal*, Bw.; *aizee*, Md.; *isel*, C.; *oozel*, C., M1., M2.; *usel*, C.; *aisel*, M1.; *hazel*, *hoosel*, M1.; *ēzel*, T.; *āizel*, W2. [More probably from Gaelic *asal* than German *Esel*, both of which are derivatives of Latin *asellus*.]
6. *akhomed*, married, M. xvii (*f.n.*); *ackomed*, M. 321; *yack Amed*, W1.; *yakam'd*, W2. [The last two forms are perhaps due to some confusion with *yaik*, 'one.'] See *akkom*.
7. *akkom*, to marry, Bd., L.; *akhom*, M1.; *akkam*, O. [Cf. Harman pp. 67, 83 *autem*, church, Norwood *hättam*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 206; *ättam*, *ibid.* iii. 208. For interchange of *k* and *t* in Romani see S. and C. p. 8. Mr. E. O. Winstedt informs me that the 1785 ed. of B. M. Carew gives *autem*, church; also married.]
8. *an*, the: *air an lanach*, on the highway, Wn.; *droog en doris*, shut the door, M. xii (*f.n.*). [Gaelic *an*, the.] See *a*.
9. *andree*. See *andri*.
10. [*andri*], in: *ja andree*, *ja anee*, go in, M2. [Romani. S. and C. *adré*; von S. *andre*.]
11. *anee*. See *andri*.
12. *asal*. See *aizel*.
13. *atch*. See *atsh*.
14. *atsh*, cease, halt, stand, stop: *auch*: *aucheer mangan* [i.e. *atsh yer mangan*], hold your tongue, S1.; *orch*, L.; *atch*, M1.; *atsh*, W2.; *orch yer mangin*, stop your talking, L. 45 (*f.n.*); *atch yer mangan*, hold your tongue [*lit.* stop your talking], M1. [Perhaps to be recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1540 and 1553. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 162 and vi. 336 (*f.n.*). Romani. S. and C. *atch*.] See also *hatsh*.
15. *aucheer*. See *atsh*.
16. *aukaman*, marriage, S2., M1. See *akkom*.

17. *auteenie* [a salutation], S1. [Perhaps a corruption of some such phrase as *akō tiri*— Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 184.]
18. *auvie*. See *av*-.
19. [*av*-, to come]: *ava*, W1.; *auvie* [*av 'vree*], come here, S1.; *aan*, coming, W1.; *aving*, coming, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *av*. von S. *váva*.]
20. *avree*. See *avri*.
21. *avri*, from, away, C.; *avree*, M1., M2., F.; *aree*, this way, M. xii. (*f.n.*); *avri*, W2.; *bing avree*, come away, F.; *jaw vree*, go away, S1., S2.; *ja avree*, *javree*, *ja' vree*, *j'avree*, *ja' ree*, *jaw vree*, go away, go on, M1., M2.; *jan avri*, go away, C.; *jal avri*, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *avri*.]
22. *awast*, away, M1.; *jawin' awast*, going away, M. 203. See *bing*.
23. *backeri*. See *bakra*.
24. *backra*. See *bakra*.
25. *bad*, cow, M2.
26. *bagail*, giving: *s' guidh a bagail air mo ghil*, it is raining, Wn. [Lit. 'water is giving on me.' Shelta. Irish Tinker *būgal*. Cf. Romani *brišin dela*.]
27. *baish*. See *bash*.
28. *bakra*, sheep, S1., S2., Md.; *backra*, S1.; *bakrè*, Bd.; *bakré* 'pron. *bokry*,' L.; *backeri*, C.; *bakrie*, M1., M2.; *bokra*, M1.; *bakri*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *bókro*. von S. *bakro*.]
29. *baldé*, cabbage, Bd. Perhaps participle of *bilava*, I boil.
30. *ballast*, hair, C., M2. [Romani. S. and C. *bal*. von S. *bal*.]
31. *balo*, pig, Bd. [Perhaps recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1540. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 162. Romani. S. and C. *báulo*. von S. *balo*.]
32. *bani*, meal, C. [? Gaelic *bàn*, white.]
33. *banyie*, milch cow, M2. See *blan* and *blanag*.
34. *bar*, rock, stone, S1., C., M1., M2. [Romani. S. and C. *bar*. von S. *bar*.]
35. *bar*, money, shilling, five shillings, S1., S2., O. [Romani. S. and C. *bar*, one pound sterling, sovereign. Sundt *bar*, Mark. Thesleff *bar*, Mark.]
36. *bara*, bare, *bari*. See *baro*.
37. *bark*, Irishman, M. 446. [See Hotten (ed. 1874), p. 78.]
38. *baro*, *bari*, *bara*, *bare*, big, great, beautiful, chief, fine-looking, gentle, good, grand, mild, noble, rich: *baurie*, S1., S2., M1., M2.; *baré*, Bd., L., M1.; *barrè*, Bd.; *baro*, L., M1.; *bari*, L.,

T.; *bári*, W2.; *bare*, L.; *bori*, C., M2.; *barrie*, M1., M2.; *barra*, W1.; *bára*, W2.; *baurie been cowl*, fine man, M2.; *barrie cutlan*, sword, M1.; *baurie davies*, good day, S1., M1.; *barrie davies*, *gran-naismort*, fine day, grannie, M. 178; *barrie davies*, *nawken*, Good day, Tinkler, M. 171; *baurie-dews*, *Nawken*, S1., M. xiv (*f.n.*); *baurie forest*, chief city, S1.; *baurie gaave*, village (large), M1.; *barrè gadgé*, good or great man, Bd.; *bori gadgi*, gentleman, C.; *baurie gadgie*, king, M1.; *barrè gouré*, good or great man, Bd.; *Ha Barrey*, eat plenty, W1.; *Gan to feck barra Habben*, going to get my dinner, W1.; *barra hantle*, well-to-do people, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 215; *barry kashti*, good stick, L.; *baurie kashtie*, M1.; *bara kier*, big house, M1.; *barè louer*, good money, Bd.; *baurie lowie*, big money, M. xv (*f.n.*); *bara lowie*, M. 115; *baurie maccam*, hare, M1.; *baurie manishie*, queen, gentlewoman, M1.; *barrie montyclear*, sea, M1.; *baurie mort*, good wife, S1., queen, M1.; *baré panné*, sea, great water, Bd.; *barrie pánie*, M1.; *baurie paunie*, sea, ocean, S1.; *baré peevan*, wine, good drink, Bd.; *baurie rajah*, riah, king, S1., M1.; *baurie riah*, Md.; *barry ranee*, a great lad[y], L. 37 (*f.n.*); *bori rani*, gentlewoman, C.; *barré ranné*, great or kind lady, Bd.; *baurie rannie*, queen, M1.; *baurie raunie*, S1., Md.; *bori raunie*, fine woman, M2.; *barra raugé manishi*, big silly woman, M. 202; *barry roy*, gentleman, L. 37 (*f.n.*); *baurie rye*, M1.; *barra rye*, minister, M1.; *barrie tog*, great coat, M. xi (*f.n.*); *bára tugis*, blankets, W2.; *baurie vile*, large village, S1., M1. [Romani. S. and C. *baúro*. von S. *báro*.]

39. *barra*, *barré*, *barrie*, *barry*. See *baro*.

40. *bash*. See *bésh*.

41. *bash*, sit, W2., T.; *baish down*, sit down, S1.; *baish down bettiment*, sit down on the chair, S1.; *baish*, M1.; *howie been baishen* [? how have you been *baish*ing], how are you? S1.; *bashing*, sitting, W2.; *bashing tshat*, chair [lit. 'sitting thing'], W2. [Romani. S. and C. *bash*. von S. *besáva*.]

42. *bashanie*, cock, S1., S2. [Romani. Whiter: *boshena*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 174; Harriott: *bāshno*; S. and C. *boshno*. von S. *bašno*.] See also *basné*.

43. *basné*, cock, Bd., L. [Romani.] See *bashanie*.

44. *bathoma*, policeman, C., M2. [Shelta. Cf. Leland: *The Gs.*, 367 *gotherna*, *guttema* and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 176.]

45. *battie*, rabbit, W1.
46. *baurie*. See *baro*.
47. *bawks*: *chittie bawks*, kettle props, M1.; *tshíti bawks*, W2.
[Eng. 'balk.']
48. *baysh*. See *bésh*.
49. *beanman-covie*, farmer, G. See *been* and *covie*.
50. *bebee*, aunt, lady, Bd.; *beebie*, L. [Romani. S. and C. *beebie*.
von S. *bibi*.]
51. *beebie*. See *bebee*.
52. *been*, fine, gentle, good, grand, great, rich, S1., S2., M1., M2.;
bin, C.; *bin*, T.; *been chaet*, brooch, M2.; *been cheetrie*, M1.;
bin-chit, C.; *been cowl*, fine man, God, M1., M2.; *been gaugie*,
gentleman, S1., S2., M1.; God, M1.; *been gadgy*, fine man,
God, M1, M2.; *bin-gadgy*, fine man, C.; may the *been gaugi*
sallach ye, may God curse you, M. 370; *been gourie*, gentle-
man, S1.; gentlewoman, M1.; *been hantle*, good country
people, M. 115; *been liuer*, silver brooch, M2.; *bin liuer*,
brooch, C.; *bin-manishi*, fine woman, C.; *been manishie*,
fine woman, queen, M1., M2.; *been mort*, lady, queen, S2.,
M1.; *bein ranné*, great or kind lady, Bd.; *been raunie*,
gentlewoman, queen, S1., M1.; *been riah*, gentleman, S1., S2.,
Md.; king, S1., S2. [Harman: *bene*, good. Of obscure
origin; perhaps from Latin *bene*, but *bien* is used in Scots,
meaning 'wealthy, plentiful,' and in M. E. meaning 'pleasant.'
See *bayn* in M. and S. and *bein* in O. E. D.]
53. *been*, little. See *bin*.
54. *beenlightie*, daylight, Sunday, M1. [Cant *been* + Eng. *light* +
Eng. dimin. suffix *ie*.]
55. *beenlightment*, daylight, Sabbath-day, Sunday, sky, S1., S2.,
Gr., M1., M2., O. [Cant *been* + Eng. *light* + suffix *ment*.]
56. *beenship*, fine, good, great, grand, S2., MR., M1., M2.; *binsip-
chitri*, brooch, C.; *beenship davies*, *Nawken*, Good-day,
Gipsy, S1., M1.; *beenship mashlam*, good metal, S2., M1.;
tin, M1.; *beenship monte-clear*, spring well, M2.; *beenship
mort*, fine woman, gentlewoman, M1., M2.; *beenship-rat*,
good-night, S2.; *beenship rattie*, M1. [Harman: *benshupp*,
very good. Cant *been* + Eng. suffix *ship*.]
57. *beerie*. See *bero*.
58. *belliamunt*. See *belliment*.
59. *belliment*, door, doorway, M1., M2., M. 444; *belliamunt*, *belli-
munt*, C.; *chaet o' the belliment*, screen over the tent door,

- M3., M. xii (*f.n.*). [Fr. *beliment*, noise, *i.e.* the noise made by the flap of the tent.]
60. *bellimunt*. See *belliment*.
61. *beng*. See *bing*.
62. *beor*. See *biuer*.
63. *bere*. See *bero*.
64. *bero*, boat, ship, R., C.; *beerie*, S2.; *bere*, *bire*, *biro*, C.; *beerie bawt* [*bawt* is Gaelic *bàta*, boat], M2.; *binsi bire*, winged boat, C.; *binsie bire*, M. x (*f.n.*). [Romani. S. and C. *béro*. von S. *bero*.]
65. *bésh*, wood, forest, plantation, W2.; *baysh*, L., M1.; *vaysh*, M2.; *bash*, W1.; *veis*, tree, C. [Romani. S. and C. *vesh*. von S. *véš*. Wlislöcki, *bes*.]
66. *bettiment*, chair, S1., M1.; *baish down bettiment*, sit down on the chair, S1.
67. *beur*, *bewr*. See *biuer*.
68. *bight*, pudenda, S2., M1. [Harman, p. xviii, *bite*. Eng.; see *O. E. D.* under 'bight.']
69. *bin*. See *been*.
70. *bin*, little, Wn., C.; *been*, M2. [Shelta. See Sampson: *Introd.* to M. p. xv.]
71. *bing*, devil, S1., S2., Bd., C., M. 446, T.; *beng*, T.; *bing feck*, devil take you, S1., S2.; *bing feck eelreelee*, devil take your soul, S1.; *bing lee*, devil miss me, S1., S2.; *bing lee ma*, S1., S2.; *bing lay your shero*, devil lay your head, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *beng*. von S. *beng*. Prob. both *lee* and *lay* are mistranslated and are really Romani *le*, take.]
72. *bing*, come, go, take, C., M1., M2.; *bing avree*, come away, F.; *bingam*, come, C.; *bingin*, going, M1.; *bingin aree*, going away, M. 186. [Harman: *bynge a waste*, go you hence. This phrase is interpreted by B. and L. i. 111-12 as Romani for 'go to the devil.' See *O. E. D.* under *bing* (vb.).]
73. *bing yerram*, blood, C.; *bin yerram*, M2. See *yerram*.
74. *bingam*. See *bing*.
75. *binsi*, wings, C.
76. *binsie*, winged: *binsi bire*, winged boat, C.; *binsie bire*, M. x (*f.n.*).
77. *binsip*. See *beenship*.
78. *bire*, *biro*. See *bero*.
79. [*biuer*], girl, woman: *beor*, Wn., C., M2., G.; *beur*, *bewr*, *blewr*, M1. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 121.]

80. *blá, blaa*. See *blaw*.
81. *blacki*. See *blawkie*.
82. *blaikie*. See *blawkie*.
83. *blan*, cow, C. See *blànag*.
84. *blànag*, cow, Wn.; *blanig*, C. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 210.]
85. *blaw*, meal, S1., C., M1., M2., M. 444, W2., G.; flour, W2.; *blaa*, C.; *blá*, T.; *blaw kér*, flour-mill, W2. [MR. suggests Fr. *blé* as origin, but cf. Welsh *blawd*, flour.]
86. *blawkie*, kettle, pan, pot, tea-pot, S1., M1., M2., O.; *blackies*, Bd.; *blaikie*, C.; *blacki*, tin, G.; *blakis*, coals, T.; *blawkie cowie*, pot lid, M1.; *gray-blacki*, tea-pot, G., *gray blackie*, O. [Eng. 'black' + dimin. suffix *ie*.]
87. *blewr*. See *biuer*.
88. *blinkam*, candle, C.; *blinkan*, M2.; *blinkin*, M1.; *blinkins*, matches, M2.
89. *blinker*, window, S1.
90. *blinkie*, candle, S2.; window, C., M2.; light, O.
91. *blinklum*, light, C.; candle, M2.
92. *blinkman*, paraffin, G.
93. *blinks*, eyes, M. 446; spectacles, T. [Nos. 88-93 are from Eng. 'blink.']
94. *block*, head, M1. [See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 216 and *O. E. D.* 'block,' sb. 4.]
95. *blon*, woman, M2. [Cf. B.E. *blowing* and *blower*; Potter: *blowen*; Haggart: *blone*.]
96. *blunt*, money, M2. [According to *O. E. D.* the same word as the Eng. adj. 'blunt,' the etymology of which is unknown. See also B. and L. i. 141-2.]
97. *bobbers*. See *bobies*.
98. *bobies*, peas, pease, S1., M1.; *bobbers*, Bd.; L. [Romani. S. and C. *böbi*. von S. *bobo*.]
99. *bodachan*, man, M2., F. [Gaelic 'a little old man,' dimin. of *bodach*.]
100. *bokra*. See *bakra*.
101. *boord*, penny, S1. [Harman: *bord*, shilling, which *O. E. D.* explains as possibly 'a transf. use of *bord*, Board, "shield."']
102. *boose*, drink [sb. and vb.], O. [Harman: *to bowse*, to drynke. See *O. E. D.*]
103. *borers*, Tinklers' tools, M1. [Cf. Leland: *The Gs.* 358, 360 and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 172.]

104. *bori*. See *baro*.
105. *borlan*, sun, S1.
106. *bory-gav*, common (sb.), L. 41 (*f.n.*). [Romani *baro-gav* 'great town.']
107. *bovi*, bull, C.; *bovie*, M2. [Gaelic *bo*, a cow.]
108. *brastni*, rain-water, C. [Romani. S. and C. *brishindo*. von S. *brisindo*.]
109. *breckets*, trousers, M2. [Cognate with Eng. 'breeches' which is from O. E. *bréc*.]
110. *brickler*, bowl, cup and saucer, mug, plates of earthenware, M1., G.; *bricklers*, Bd., C.; *brockler*, M2.; *bruskler*, C. See M. xii (*f.n.*). [Eng. Vessels of 'brickle' i.e. brittle material. See 'brickle' in O. E. D.]
111. *brockler*. See *brickler*.
112. *brod*, house, C.
113. *bruskler*. See *brickler*.
114. *buck*, tramp, M. 447. [Cf. Hotten (ed. 1874) p. 99.]
115. *buffart*, dog, hound, C.; *buffert*, M1., M2., M. 446, O. [Harmen: *bufe*, dog. An 'echoic' or onomatopœic word. Entered in O. E. D.]
116. *buidy*, warm, W1. [North. Eng. *bielly*, warm, from *bield*, shelter.]
117. *bull*, five shillings, M1., W1.; *bul*, crownpiece, T. [See B. and L. i. 185 and O. E. D. 'bull,' sb. 7.]
118. *bullien*, talk: *nickso bullien*, stop your talk, M. 185, 447. [? Eng. 'bullying.']
119. *bulliment*, loaf of bread, S2.
120. *bumie*, to drink, S1., S2.; drink (sb.), M1. [See O. E. D. 'bum,' sb. 2.]
121. *bummie*, umbrella, M1. [? From shape when open.]
122. *buntie*, rabbit, coney, M2.; *buntis*, M2.; *bunty*, hare, O. [Eng. A pet name for a rabbit, from 'bun,' etymology unknown. See O. E. D.]
123. *buntis*. See *buntie*.
124. *c*. See also *k*.
125. *cacklers*, eggs, C. [Eng. Deriv. of 'cackle.'] See also *kecklers*.
126. *caesum*. See *kaisim*.
127. *caidy*. See *kaidie*.
128. *cailleach*, woman, M2.; *calleach ma*, fine woman, M2. [Gaelic *cailleach*, an old woman.]
129. *cair*, four, C., M2.; *ceithir*, M2. [Gaelic *ceithir*, four.]

130. *callach*, boy, M2., M. 446.
131. *callies*. See *kalik*.
132. *cam*. See *tshon*.
133. *camir*, mother, C., M2.; *chàmair*, Wn. [Shelta. Cf. Irish Tinker *nadherum*; both forms apparently by metathesis from Gael. *mathair* or *mathairín*.]
134. *cang-geerie*. See *kangri*.
135. *canghri*. See *kangri*.
136. *cani*. See *kani*.
137. *cant*. See *chant*.
138. *cant*, speech, tinkler's talk, L. p. 141, M. 438; *mangin cant*, speaking their own language, Bd. [Harman: to *cante*, to speake. See long note in *O. E. D.* on derivation and history of this word.]
139. *caog*. See *cuig*.
140. *cappel*, horse, M2. [Cf. B. E. *keffal*; *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 206. Gaelic *capull*, a mare; Welsh, *ceffyl*. But the word existed in M. E. See M. and S. under *capul*.]
141. *carey*, sheep, M2. [Gaelic *caoraich*, plur. of *caora*.]
142. *carie*. See *kari*.
143. *carlie*, neck, S1. [Romani, S. and C., *kárlo*, throat. von. S. *kurlo*. See also *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 35 (*f.n.*).]
144. *carmus*. See *carnis*.
145. *carmush*. See *kirmush*.
146. *carni*, red, C.; *carnie*, M2. [Lit. flesh-colour, Lat. *carn-em*.]
147. *carnis*, beef, flesh, meat, C., M1., M2., O., G.; *carmus*, C. [Lat. *carn-is*. Cf. Sampson's *karnish*, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 76.]
148. *carnis cowl*, butcher, M2. See *carnis* and *cowl*.
149. *carse*. See *kas*.
150. *carthoun*, *carthron*, needle, M2.; *carthson*, C. [? From Gaelic *tarung-art*.]
151. *carthron*, *carthson*. See *carthoun*.
152. *cas*. See *kas*.
153. *cashtrie*. See *kast*.
154. *castè*, *casti*. See *kast*.
155. *catchies*, constables, Bd.; *catch-cowie*, M1. [From Eng. vb. 'catch.']
156. *caunie*. See *kani*.
157. *ceel*. See *kil*.
158. *ceithir*. See *cair*.

159. *cen*. See *ken*.
160. *censhin*. See *kinchen*.
161. *cesum*. See *kaisim*.
162. *chace*, ten, M2. [? Romani *deš* with palatalized *d*, but. cf. No. 268.]
163. *chackers*, face, O. See *tshakas*.
164. *chaet*. See *tshat*.
165. *chaeterie*: Generic word derived from *tshat*, meaning 'fire-wood, jewels, jewellery, old boots, old clothes, tin cans'; *chaeterie*, M1.; *cheetrie*, M1., M2.; *chitri*, C.; *been cheetrie*, brooch, M1.; green *chitris*, parsley, C.; green *cheetris*, vegetables of all kinds, M2.; *hotchitri*, pepper, C.; hot *chitrie*, M2. [Haggart: *chattery*, 'cotton, or linen goods.']
166. *cham*. See *tshon*.
167. *chamair*. See *camir*.
168. *chant*, *cant*, gill, M1.; *chant o' gatter*, glass of beer; *cant o' peeve*, glass of whisky, M. xiv (f.n.). [Shelta. See Sampson: Introd. to M. p. xv.]
169. *char*. See *tshar*.
170. *charan*, sea: *air a charan*, on the sea, Wn. [Shelta. Cf. Irish Tinker *súrrgu*, both by metathesis or change of initial from Gael. *fairge*.]
171. *chatters*. See *tshakas*.
172. *chauvie*. See *tshavo*.
173. *chav*, *chava*, *châvi*, *chavo*. See *tshavo*.
174. *chee*. See *tshib*.
175. *chee chee*. See *tshî tshî*.
176. *cheeterie*. See *chaeterie*.
177. *cheeteromanie*. See *tshat*.
178. *cheeties*. See *tshîti*.
179. *chid*, lamb, C. [? Eng. 'kid.']
180. *chinda*, silver, shilling, S1.; tin, M. 447; *chinda ochindies*, twelve shillings, S1. *trin chindies*, three shillings, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *chin*, to cut. von S. *čindva*.]
181. *chit*. See *tshat*.
182. *chitri*. See *chaeterie*.
183. *chitshie*. See *tshûkli*.
184. *chitties*. See *tshîti*.
185. *chizcazin*, cheese, S1., S2., M1. [? Eng. 'cheese' + *cazin*. Harman: *cassan*, cheese.] See *kaisim*.
186. *choar*. See *tshûr*.

187. *choca*. See *tshoki*.
188. *chooma*. See *tshúm*.
189. *choorie*. See *tshútri*.
190. *chor*. See *tshar*.
191. *chor*. See *tshúr*.
192. *chourè*. See *tshútri*.
193. *chovy*. See *shovi*.
194. *chowrie*. See *tshútri*.
195. *chuck*, tick [credit], M1.
196. *chupnie*, whip, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *choópni*. von S. *čupni*.] See *tshúkli*.
197. *chūr*. See *tshúr*.
198. *churi*. See *tshútri*.
199. *chutshie*. See *tshúkli*.
200. *ciam*, *cian*. See *ken*.
201. *ciar*. See *kēr*.
202. *cima*, stick, C. [Shelta *chima* = Gaelic *maide*. Sampson.]
203. *cine*. See *ken*.
204. *clach*, stone, C., M1., M2., O.; pound, M1.; *clack*, S2., M1.; *clauch*, Bd.; *cloch*, Bw.; *klotsh*, W2.; *clachs*, stones, C. [Gaelic *clach*, a stone.]
205. *clai*, to steal, O. [Harman: *cly*, take. See B. and L., i. 245.]
206. *clapin*, mill, Bd., L. [? Eng. 'the clapping thing.' See 'clapper' in O. E. D.]
207. *clauch*. See *clach*.
208. *cleashes*, trousers, M2. [? By metathesis from *kálšes*.] See *kálšes*.
209. *cleaspis*, trousers, C., M2.; *cleaspie*, O.; *clespes*, G.
210. *cleechie*, policeman, M. xv (f.n.). [Probably a derivative of *cleach* or *cleech*, for which see O. E. D.]
211. *clegin*. See *kleg*.
212. *cleidean*. See *cleidin*.
213. *cleidin*, *cleidim*, clothes, C., M2.; *clèidean*, Wn. [See *clething* and *cleding* in O. E. D.]
214. *cleni*. See *klémi*.
215. *clespes*. See *cleaspis*.
216. *clini*. See *klémi*.
217. *cloch*. See *clach*.
218. *clocker*, watch, M2. [Eng. 'echoic' word; that which 'clocks' or 'clicks.']
219. *clows*, tongs, O. [O.N. *kló*.]

220. *cockle*, hat, S2. [? A. S. *cūgle*, *cūhle*, *cule*, (monk's) hood, cowl. Lat. *cuculla*.]
221. *col*, man: *paunie-col*, sailor, S1. See *cowl*.
222. *coldi*. See *coldni*.
223. *coldni*, bud, C.; *coldnie*, M2.; *coldi*, C.
224. *commodation*, tent, M. 185. 'This word is used both by Potters and Gypsies around Kendal for the detachable covered bow of a Potter's cart, which, when taken off, can be used as a sleeping tent. It is also used sometimes for the 'flat' cart+detachable bow.' T. W. Thompson. [Eng. 'accommodation.']
225. *coni*, coney, C. [Eng.]
226. *conyin*, child, little child, C., M2.
227. *coories*, blankets, S1., Bd., M1., M2., O.; *curis*, C. [Dimin. of 'cover.']
228. *corka*, Sunday: *corka devas*, Sabbath day, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *koóroki*. von S. *kurko*.]
229. *cothiest*, kindest, M1. [Superlative of Scots 'couthy.']
230. *couchie*. See *kútshi*.
231. *coul*. See *cowl*.
232. *cowie*. See *kowi*.
233. *cowl*, man, M1., M2., G.; *coul*, C.; *cull*, M1., M2.; *baurie been cowl*, fine man, M2.; *been cowl*, fine man, God, M1., M2.; *carnis cowl*, butcher, M2.; *catch cowl*, policeman, M1.; *lemman cowl*, Orangeman, M. 185; *patteran cowl*, minister, G.; *paunie-col*, sailor, S1. See *cull*.
234. *cowlie*, tall, strong youth, G. [Diminutive of *cowl*.]
235. *craig*, rock, M2. [Eng. from Gaelic *creag*.]
236. *cretum*, sand, C., M2.
237. *crimpers*, turnips, O.; *krumpers*, G.
238. *crocker*, cat, M. 446.
239. *crocker*, fourpence, M1.
240. *cug*. See *cuig*.
241. *cuig*, five, M2.; *cug*, *caog*, C. [Gaelic *cùig*.]
242. *culbrollie*, food, O.
243. *culdee*, hat, M1.
244. *cull*, man, fool, ninny, M1., M2. [See O. E. D. 'cull,' sb. 2.]
245. *curdie*, halfpenny, S1., S2.; *curdee*, M1. [At first I derived this word from Spanish *cuarto*, as I have known it from infancy with the meaning 'farthing,' but it has been pointed out to me that it may be Romani *χurdo*, little.

- See Mik. vii. 65: Rum. Gyp. *churdé lové*, Hung. Gyp. *hurde love*, 'small change.' Welsh Romani has *χuredō*, 'small in stature.']
246. *curis*. See *coories*.
247. *cutlan*, knife, M1.; *cutler*, M1., C.; *barrie cutlan*, sword, M1.
248. *cutler*. See *cutlan*.
249. *dad*, father, Bd. [May be either Eng. or Romani. S. and C. *dad*. von S. *dad*.]
250. *Dal*, Irish, M1.; Irishman, M. 446; *Dal gadgi*, Irishman, M. 185; *Dal watches*, Ireland, M. 185.
251. *Dalcowe*, Irishman, M. 446.
252. *Dalwhuddin chaet*, chapel, M1. [Lit. 'Irish-speaking thing.']
253. *dana*. See *dant*.
254. *dant*, tooth, M1., MR. Plur. *dana*, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *dan*, plur. *danaw*. von S. *dand*. MR. takes *dant* as from French, but the plur. *dana* points to its being Romani.]
255. *darkie*, night, M2. [Eng. 'dark'+dimin. suffix *ie*. Cf. Haggart: *darky* 'darkening.']
256. *darkment*, night, M1., M2., T.; black-hole, M. xiv (*f.n.*); *darkmen*, G. [Eng. 'dark'+suffix *ment*.]
257. *dat*. See *datan*.
258. *datair*, father, C., M2.; *dhatair*, Wn.; *datir*, C. [Shelta. Cf. Irish Tinker *gather*; both by change of initial from Gael. *athair*.]
259. *datan*, little father, C., M2.; *dat*, C.
260. *datchen*, father-in-law, C., M2. [Romani. Recorded by Sampson for Eng. Romani, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 246.]
261. *datir*. See *datair*.
262. *davies*, day, S1., S2., M1.; *dews*, S1., M. xiv (*f.n.*); *devas*, Bd., L.; *devis*, C.; *devies*, M. 115; *dēvēs*, T.; *baurie davies*, good day, S1., M1.; *baurie-dews*, *Nawken*, good-day, Tinkler, S1., M. xiv (*f.n.*); *beenship davies*, *Nawken*, Good-day, Gipsy, S1., M1.; *corka devas*, Sabbath day, Bd.; *davies-pagrin*, daybreak, S1., S2.; *paunie davies*, wet day, S1.; *shan davies*, bad day, S1., S2.; *sheelra davies*, frosty or cold day, S1.; *shukar davies*, sunshiny day, M1.; *sneepa davies*, snowy or white day, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *divrus*. von S. *dives*.]
263. *davis*, mother, Bd. [Romani. Prob. some confusion with the word above.]

264. *daw-douglars*, hand-cuffs, S1.
265. *deachag*: *s'deachag òb*, I am tired, Wn. [Shelta. The Irish Tinker word is *surxa* from Gael. *currtha*.]
266. *deasag*, two, C.
267. *deasag*, person, Wn., C., M2.; *deasag shean*, a ragged, old, or dirty person, Wn.; *deasag toim*, a pretty, clean, or neat person, Wn. [Shelta.]
268. *dec*, ten, C., M2. [Gaelic *deich*.]
269. *deeker*, eye, M1.; *deekers*, eyes, S1., M. 446. [Romani *dik* + Eng. agent suffix *er*.]
270. *deekment*, sight, M. 207; *bing* it oot o' *deekment*, take it out of sight, M. xxii (*f.n.*). [Romani *dik* + suffix *ment*.]
271. *deia*, mother (voc.). Possibly recorded for 1540. See J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 162 and MacRitchie: *Scottish Gs. under the Stewarts*, p. 33 (*f.n.*). [Romani. S. and C. *dei*, voc. *déiä*. von S. *dai*.]
272. *deis*: *s' dèis sium a meartsacha air a charan*, we are going on the sea, Wn. [Prob. the *s'* should be taken with *deis*. Cf. Irish Tinker *stēsh*, *stē-esh*, 'this is,' etc. Gael. *seadh*.]
273. *deivis*. See *davies*.
274. *devas*. See *davies*.
275. *dews*. See *davies*.
276. *dhatair*. See *datair*.
277. *dicki*, night, dark night, C. [? Romani *dik*; a *lucus a non lucendo*?] See *dickman*.
278. *dicklie*, light, match, M2.; *diklies*, matches, M2. [Romani *dik* + suffix *lie*.]
279. *dickman*, matches, C.; light, match, M2.; *dickman*, *dicki* light, C. [Romani *dik* + suffix *man* (*ment*).] See *deekment*.
280. *didikai*, half-bred Gypsy, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *dida-keis*.]
281. *dik*, look, see, listen, hear, T.; *deek*, S1., Bd., L., M1., M. 446, M3., O., W1.; *dik*, L.; *dick*, M. 446; *dik*, W2.; *deeken*, seeing, Bd.; *deekin*, looking, M. 171; *dick a gadges*, I see a man, C.; *dicki a gadis*, good-bye, C. [Romani. S. and C. *dik*. von S. *dikáva*.]
282. *dill*, girl, servant, servant-maid, wench, S1., M1., O.; *dell*, Gr. [O. E. D. says 'Variant of, or error for, dell,' the derivation of which is unknown.]
283. *dillie*, girl, M2., G. [Dimin. of *dill*.]

284. *dinli*, daft, foolish, silly, W2.; *dinnley*, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *dinlo*, *dinilo*. von S. *dinělo*.]
285. *dinnley*. See *dinli*.
286. *doga*, affair, Bd. [Romani. Pott, ii. 307. Taken straight from Grellmann by Bd.]
287. *doris*, door, doorway, M2.; *droog en doris*, shut the door, M. xii (*f.n.*). [Gaelic *doras*, a door.]
288. *dosta*, many, much, plenty, Bw., W1.; *dostá*, *dosti*, W2.; *dústa lóvo*, plenty money, Gr. [Romani. S. and C. *dósta*. von S. *doha*, *dosta*.]
289. *dosti*. See *dosta*.
290. *dreeper*, shirt, M1. [That which 'dreeps' or 'droops.' Cf. *hinger* and *swinger*.]
291. *dringerin*, doated, M3., M. 309. [Scots *dring*, dilatory; to *dring*, to be slow.]
292. *drom*, earth, road, street, S1., S2., L., Gr., M1., M2.; *drone*, Bd.; *drum*, L., M1., W2., T.; *drōm*, T.; *shan drom*, bad road, S1., S2. [Romani. S. and C. *drom*. von S. *drom*.]
293. *drone*. See *drom*. [Groome gives *dron* in Art. 'Gs.' in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*.]
294. *droog*, shut: *droog en doris*, shut the door, M. xii (*f.n.*). [Gaelic *druid*.]
295. *drum*. See *drom*.
296. *drum*, can, kettle, M1. [Eng. See *O. E. D.*]
297. *duce*, seven (Irish cant), M1.
298. *duce*, two, M1., M2.; *díus*, C., M2.; *juce*, M2.; *dyūs*, T.; *duce wuns*, twopence, M1.; *juce, juce wuns*, M2. [Eng. 'deuce.' See *O. E. D.*]
299. *duce*, *díus*, *jius*, money, M2.; *díus*, C. [Same word as No. 298.]
300. *duff*, smoke, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *toof*, *toov*. Pott, ii. 297.]
301. *dugal*. See *jukal*.
302. *duie*, two, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *dođi*. von S. *dui*.]
303. [*duker*-], to tell fortunes: *dùka*, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *dúkker*.]
304. *dúkàring*, fortune-telling, W2.; *dukkerin*, M1., M. xiv (*f.n.*). [Romani *duker*+Eng. gerundial or participial suffix.]
305. *durie*, pig, O. [Gaelic *durraidh*, sow, pork.]
306. *dústa*. See *dosta*.
307. *duvo*, that, R. [Romani. S. and C. *adoóva*, 'doóva. von S. *dova*.]

308. *eelreelee*, soul: *bing feck eelreelee*, devil take your soul, S1.
[?Corruption of Romani *yŭlo* or *jŭlo*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 117 (*f.n.*.)]
309. *egis*, clothes for the back, Bd.; *eegees*, bedclothes, S1.
[Romani. S. and C. *eézaw*. Cont. Rom. *idja*.]
310. *eisel*. See *aizel*.
311. *elsins*, punches [borers], M1. [Eng., but according to *O. E. D.* obsolete except in the Northern dialects.]
312. *en*. See *an*.
313. *ēzel*. See *aizel*.
314. *fable*. See *famble*.
315. *faik*. See *fek*.
316. *faizim*. See *fesem*.
317. *fak*. See *fek*.
318. *fam*. See *famble*. [Cf. Haggart: *fam* 'a hand.']
319. *famble*, hand, finger, M2.; *femmel*, S1., S2., M1.; *fammel*, M1., O.; *fable*, C., M2.; *femme*, M2.; *fam*, *famel*, W2.; *fams*, hands, T.; *femmel chaet*, hand-basin, M1.; *meffemel* [i.e. my *femel*], S1., S2. [Harman: *fambles*, hands. B. and L. i. 333 state that this word is claimed by the Gs. as Romani. Much more likely to be a cognate of Eng. 'fumble.' See *O. E. D.*]
320. *fammel*. See *famble*.
321. *fannie*, ring, finger-ring, M1.; *sonnakei fanni*, golden aureole, M3. [Irish *fainee*.]
322. *feadar*. See *feddar*.
323. *feck*. See *fek*.
324. *feckles*, rags, Bd., M1.; *fichel*, clout, C., M1.
325. *feddar*, gull, M2.; *feadar*, C.
326. *fek*, bring, carry, come, do, fetch, give, kiss, make, steal, take, W2., T.; *feck*, S1., M1.; *faik*, kiss, L.; take, M1.; give, M. xi (*f.n.*); *fak* (imperative), L.; *bing feck*, devil take you, S2.; *bing feck eelreelee*, devil take your soul, S1.; *feck a bar* and *mar* the *gaugie*, lift a stone and fell the man, S1.; *fak thee keal*, take thy cheese, L.; *faik the barra manishi's mōey*, kiss the pretty girl's mouth, L.; *fekkit* [i.e. *fek*-ed], took, M. 172; *feckit* [i.e. *feck* it], look, put, M. xiv (*f.n.*); *feck of Rea* [i.e. *fek avri*], going away, W1.; *fek avri*, take out, come out, W2. [See *O. E. D.* under 'fake.']
327. *fēker*, mender, W2.; *mush fēker*, umbrella-mender, W2.; *grai feker*, horse-dealer, T. [*fek*+Eng. agent suffix *er*.]

328. *fekkan*, take, steal, Bd., L., M1. See *fek*.
329. *femal*, *femli*, shirt, C.
330. *femmel*. See *famble*.
331. [*fesem*], hay, grass, hair, horsehair, wire: *faizim*, S1., M1., M2., O.; *fizam*, S2., M1.; *fesum*, C.; *faisim*, M1., M2., O.; *pheson*, W1.; *fésen*, W2.; *fēzen*, T.; *faesum*, G.; *gry-faisim*, horse-hair, O.; *faizim* oot o' the *slang*, hay; *faizim* on the *test*, hair, M. xv (*f.n.*).
332. *fésen*. See *fesem*.
333. *fesum*. See *fesem*.
334. *fichel*. See *feckles*.
335. *fichlie*, matches, C. [Perhaps a metathesis from *filsh*; but cf. *fritchli*, J. G. L. S., Old Series, iii. 246.]
336. *fik*, exchange, W2. See *thik*.
337. *fiki-chiti*, ear-rings, C.
338. *filsh*, tree, fruit-tree, stick, sticks, staff, firewood, S2., C.; *filshi*, C.; *filch*, M1.; *filches*, M2., G.; *filshes*, M1., M2.; *chaet-filches*, kettle props, M1.
339. *fisho*, hot, M1.
340. *fizam*. See *fesem*.
341. *flaffer*, coat, M1. [Eng. from 'flaff,' to flutter, flap in the wind. Cf. *dreeper*, *hinger*, *swinger*.]
342. *flaffer*, pound-note, M1. [Eng. Same as above.]
343. *flatrin*, fish, S1., S2., Md., M1., T., W2.; *flatrins*, S1.; *flat-terin*, Bd.; *flattern*, herring, C., M1., M2.; *flatteran*, G.; *flattrins*, M2.
344. *flatrin gûri*, fisherman, W2.; *flattern Goorie*, water watcher, W1. See *gûrt*.
345. *flimsie*, *flimsy*, pound, M1.; five pound, M1.; *flimzi*, W2.; *duce flimsies*, ten pounds, M1. [Eng. See O. E. D. 'flimsy' B. sb. 1.]
346. *flint*, bone, M1. [Eng. Probably the same as 'flint,' a hard stone, one of the meanings of which in Northumbria is 'the core of an animal's horn.']
347. *float*, cart, M1. [Eng. See O. E. D. 'float,' sb. 14.]
348. *fluff*, tobacco-pipe, S1. [From Scots and North. Eng. 'fluff,' meaning 'to puff.' See *pluff*.]
349. *fluffan*, smoke, smoking, tobacco, S1., M1.; *fluffan-chaet*, pipe, M1. [Eng. 'fluffing.' See *pluffan*.]
350. *fo*, five, S1., M1.
351. *fôgus*, tobacco, T. [See Hotten, p. 167.]

352. *fontai*, rain, C. See *fonti*.
353. *fonti*, well, C. [Eng. 'font'; Lat. *font-em*.]
354. *foredrum*, apron, brat, M1. [? English 'fore,' e.g. pinafore.]
355. *forest*, city: *baurie forest*, chief city, S1. [Romani. Assimilated in spelling to Eng. 'forest.' S. and C. *foros*. von S. *fôro*.]
356. *forge*, arch (of a bridge), M2. [Romani. S. and C. *poodj. Ješ. pchurd*.] See *porge*.
357. *fôti*, *futi*, dirty, W2.; *foety*, *foty*, W1. [Eng. See O. E. D. under 'foughty.']
358. *frod*, frog, C., M2. [M. E. has the form *frûde*, *froud*. O. N. *frauðr*.]
359. *furbas*, a smoke, tobacco, L. p. 148.
360. *furnish*, name, M1.
361. *futi*. See *fôti*.
362. *gaave*. See *gav*.
363. *gad*, shirt, chemise, Gr., C., M2., W2.; *gawd*, S1., M1.; *gaad*, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *gad*. von S. *gâd*.]
364. *gadi*, garden, C.; *gadie*, M2. See *garrie*.
365. *gaff*, fire, S1. [Perhaps a mistranslation for the slang word *gaff*, a fair.]
366. *gaidie*, boy, M2., M. 446; *geddie*, G. [? Scots *cadie*, *caddie*, a young fellow, or a corruption of No. 369.]
367. *gairo*. See *gûrt*.
368. *gâjeno*, gentile, non-Gypsy. Perhaps to be recorded for 1505. [See J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 161.]
369. *gaji*, man, boy, W2.; *gaugie*, S1., S2., Md., O., M2., M. 447; *gadgé*, Bd.; *gajo*, Bw.; *gadges*, C.; *gâdji*, MR.; *gadgie*, M1., M2., M. 446, F.; *gadji*, T.; *gatee*, W1.; *barrè gadgé*, good, great man, Bd.; *baurie gadgie*, king, M1.; *been gadgy*, fine man, God, M1., M2.; *been gaugie*, gentleman, S1., S2., M1.; *catch-gadgie*, policeman, M1.; *choar a gaugie*, steal from that man, S1.; *Dal gadgi*, Irishman, M. 185; *shan gaugie*, policeman, M2. [Romani. S. and C. *gaujo* (m.), *gauji* (f.), a non-Gypsy. von S. *gâdžo*, *gâdži*.]
370. *gajo*, gentile, Bd. [Romani. See No. 369.]
371. *gâmi*, worthless, W2. [Shelta. See J. G. L. S., Old Series, ii. 216.]
372. *gani*. See *kani*.
373. *garlan*, ship, S1. [? From *birlinn*, a galley.]

374. *garrie*, dyke, garden, M1., M2. [Gaelic *gàradh* from Norse *garth*.] See *gadi*.
375. *gather*, father, M2. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 213.]
376. *gatter*, beer, M. xiv (*f.n.*). [Shelta. See B. and L., i. 376; *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 206.]
377. *gaudi*, cheese, G. [Eng. Gouda, a kind of cheese.]
378. *gaunie*. See *góni*.
379. *gaunie*. See *kani*.
380. *gaur*. See *gav*.
381. *gav*, town, village, C., M2., W1., W2., T.; *gave*, S1., S2.; *gaave*, Bd., L., M1.; *gaff*, C., M2.; *gaur*, C., M2.; *gāv*, T.; *baurie gaave*, village (large), M1.; *chan gaave*, bad wee town, M. xxiii (*f.n.*). [Romani. S. and C. *gav*. von S. *gáb*.]
382. *gavangri*, *gavingle*, policeman, L., 41 (*f.n.*). [Romani. Genit. plur. of *gav*; 'he of the towns.']
383. *gáveno*, urban, town-man. Perhaps to be recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1505. [See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 161.]
384. *gawd*. See *gad*.
385. *gawvers*, pickpockets, S1.
386. *ged*, bog, C., M2.
387. *geddie*. See *gaidie*.
388. *geilsi*, spring, C. [Gaelic *geil* from Norse *gil*, spring, fountain.]
389. *gender*, goose, C. [Eng. A dialectical pronunciation of *gander*.]
390. *getr'ns*, Irish travellers, L. [Shelta. Irish Tinker *gatherin*, *gotherin*, child, boy. Nos. 410, 411 are other forms of the same word.]
391. *ghil*: *s' guidh a bagail air mo ghil*, it is raining, Wn. [Shelta. *mo* and *ghil* should be taken together. Irish Tinker *mūil*, *mūilsha*, in Eng. Shelta pronounced *my dīl*, *my jīl*, from Gael. *toil*, *thoilsa*. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 210, 264.]
392. *giffin*, horse, M2.; *gifan*, C., Wn. [Shelta.]
393. *ginn*, brooch, C., M2.
394. *gīv*, corn, grain, oats, wheat, W2.; *geeve*, S1., S2., Bd., L., M1.; *giv*, C., W1.; *gīv*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *ghiv*. von S. *gīb*.]
395. *gladder*, cheat, M1. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 218.]
396. *Glazie*, Glasgow, M2.; *Glazi*, C.
397. *glew*. See *glū*.

398. *glim*, candle, light, C., M1., M2., W1., W2., T. [Common slang: from Eng. 'gleam.']
399. *glimer*, good, C.
400. *glimmen*, peats, O. See *glimmer*.
401. *glimmer*, fire, Gr., M1., M2.; *glimer*, C., T.; *glimmar*, G.; *glimmers*, firelights, peats, C., M1., M2. [Harman: *glymmar*, fyre. From Eng. 'gleam.']
402. *glimmerchaets*, fire irons, tongs, M1. [Lit. 'fire-things.' See *tshat*.]
403. *glimmeryaks*, peats, M1. [Cant *glimmer* + Romani *yag*.]
404. *gló*. See *glū*.
405. *glom*, man, C., M2. See *glomhach*.
406. *glomhach*, man, old man, Wn., C., M2. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 211.]
407. *glowie*, pay: *glowie a lowa*, pay him the money, S1.
408. *gloyin*, laughing, M. ix (*f.n.*). [? Shelta. Cf. Leland: *The Gs.*, p. 365, *r'ghoglin*.]
409. *glū*, window, T.; *glue*, S1., M1.; *glew*, Bd., L.; *glow*, W1.; *gló*, W2. [Cf. *glū*, 'gap in a hedge,' *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 191.]
410. *gochlim*, ninny, C. [? Same word as 411.]
411. *gochlin*, child, young person, C., M2.; *gothlin*, M1. [Shelta. See Leland: *The Gs.*, p. 368, *gothni*, *gachlin*; p. 358, *gothlin*, *goch'thlin*.]
412. *gogle*, hat, S1., S2.; *gogel*, Bd.; *gogl*, L.; *gougl*, L., M1.; *googl*, M1.; *yougl*, M. 342.
413. *gōi*. See *gōni*.
414. *goner*. See *gōni*.
415. *gōni*, bag, sack, M2., T.; *gauni*, C.; *gaunie*, M1.; *gōi*, M2.; *gonines*, sacks, W1.; *góni*, W2.; *goner*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *góno*. von S. *góno*.]
416. *gonines*. See *gōni*.
417. *googl*. See *gogle*.
418. *goorie*. See *gūri*.
419. *gorget*, neck, M1. [Diminutive of 'gorge.']
420. *gothlin*. See *gochlin*.
421. *gougl*. See *gogle*.
422. *gounie*. See *gūri*.
423. *gourie*. See *gūri*.
424. *govni*. See *gūri*.
425. *gownie*. See *gūri*.

426. *graaé*. See *grai*.
427. *grai*, horse, C., W2., T.; *grye*, S1., S2., Md., M3.; *grāī*, *graaé*, Bd.; *gry*, M1., M2., W1., G.; *groy*, L.; *grais haben*, horse's or beast's meat, Bd.; piping *grai*, broken-winded horse, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *grei*. von S. *grai*.]
428. *graineol*, ring, C., M2. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 259.] See *granie*.
429. *graini*. See *grani*.
430. *graisi*, steed, horse, C.; *graisie*, M1. [Romani *grai*+suffix *si*, for which cf. *geilsī*.]
431. *gran*. See *grannam*.
432. *gran*, big, great: *gran kiar*, big house, M2.; *gran naiskel*, grandfather, M2.; *gran naismort*, grandmother, M2. [Scots form of Eng. 'grand.']
433. *gran-ciar*, cow-house, C. [Prob. the *gran* is not No. 432 but No. 431.]
434. *grani*, hill, mountain, C.; *graini*, C., M2.; *granie*, M2. [? From *gran*, big.]
435. *granie*, *granyie*, finger-ring, M2.; *graini*, C. See *graineol*. [Shelta, from Irish *fainee*.]
436. *grannam*. See *granum*.
437. *gransè*, barn, granary, Bd.; *graunzie*, S1., S2., M1., O.; *graunagie*, S2.; *gransi*, C.; *granzie*, M2., F. [Romani. S. and C. *gránza*, *gráinsi*.]
438. *granum*, corn, oats, C., T.; *greenam*, S2., M1., M2.; *grennan*, Bd., L. p. 148; *gran*, C., M2.; *grannam*, M2.; *grenim*, G. [Harman: *grannam*, corn. Lat. *granum*.]
439. *granyie*. See *granie*.
440. *grastá*, horses. Perhaps to be recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1540. [See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 162.]
441. *graunagie*. See *gransè*.
442. *graunzie*. See *gransè*.
443. *gree*, *gri*, high, rise, get up, bear the *gree*, C. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 260; but see also *O. E. D.* under 'gree.']
444. *green chitris*. See *chaeterie*.
445. *greenam*. See *granum*.
446. *greham*, horse, S1., S2., M1. See *grai*.
447. *grenim*, *grennan*. See *granum*.
448. *grey*, key, O. [Formed from 'key' by change of initial consonant.]

449. *grey*, tea, O.; *gray*, G. [Formed from 'tea' by change of initial consonant. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 213.]
450. *gri*. See *gree*.
451. *grib*, dig, hang, kiss, plough, shoot, throttle, write, M1., M2., M. 445; *grib* him, hang him, shoot him, throttle him, M1.; *grib* from him, steal from him, M1.; *grib* his *gorget*, throttle him, M1. [See next word.]
452. *gribin'*, work, actions, W2.; *gribbin*, M. xv (f.n.); *grubin*, digging, C. [Shelta *grübbir*, work, to work, from Gael. *oibir*.]
453. *grip*, *grop*, money, C., M2.; *goup*, C.; *gowp*, M2.
454. *grivin*, coat, C.; *guffin*, M2. [Shelta. Cf. Leland: *The Gs.*, p. 364, *griffin*, *gruffin*.]
455. *grodor*, soulder, M2; mistranslated 'soldier,' C. [Shelta. Cf. Leland: *The Gs.*, p. 366, *grawder*.]
456. *gron*, nose, G. [Perhaps a Shelta formation from Irish *srōn* or more probably connected with the M.E. *groyn*, *groon*, 'snout of a pig,' O. F. *groing*. The Irish Tinker word for 'nose' is *mērko* or *merkog*. Perhaps our word is a mistake for *grannis*, 'knows.']
457. *grop*. See *grip*.
458. *grossum*, fourpence, M1. [Cf. Eng. 'groat.']
459. *groy*. See *grai*.
460. *grubin-ciar*, poor-house, C.; *grubbin kier*, M2. [Lit. 'work-house.' See *gribin'* and *kēr*.]
461. *grue*, metal, M1. [? Cf. B. E. *goree* 'money, but chiefly gold.' See also O. E. D. 'grue,' sb. 5.]
462. *grùfi*, pig, bacon, swine's flesh, W2.; *guffie*, S1., M1.; *grifi*, *griffi*, C.; *grifie*, M2.; *guffy*, W1.; *gùfi*, W2. See *grùmfi*.
463. *grùfi mas*, bacon, W2. [*grùfi* + Romani *mas*, flesh.]
464. *grùmfi*, pig, W2.; *grumphy*, C., M1., M2.; *grumplie*, O.; *grumphì*, G. [Common colloquial onomatopœic word.]
465. *gruni*. See *gùrni*.
466. *gry-faisim*, horsehair, O. See *fesem*.
467. *gryfekker*, horse-dealer, M1. See *feker*.
468. *gryfemmler*, horse-dealer, M1.; *grye-femler*, S1., S2., Md. [Lit. 'horse-handler.' See *famble*.]
469. *gry gribber*, horse-dealer, M1. See *grib*.
470. *guffie*. See *grùfi*.
471. *guffin*. See *grivin*.

472. *guidh*: *s' guidh a bagail air mo ghil*, it is raining, W1. Lit. 'it rains on me.' [The *s'* should be taken with *guidh*. Cf. Irish Tinker *skai*, 'water,' from Gael. *uisge*.]
473. *gùrt*, man, woman, boy, girl, T.; *gourie*, S1., M1., M2.; *gouré*, Bd.; *gowry*, L.; *gouri*, *gowri*, C.; *gairo*, R.; *gowrie*, M2.; *goorie*, M2.; *gooree*, W1.; *gùri*, W2.; *bàra gùri*, gentleman, W2.; *barrè gouré*, good, great man, Bd.; *been gourie*, gentleman, S1.; gentlewoman, M1.; *flatrin gùri*, fisherman, W2.; *flattern goorie*, water-watcher, W1.; *hàban gùri*, baker, W2.; *màring gùri*, boxer, W2.; *pìving gùri*, innkeeper, W2.; *shan gouré*, bad boy, Bd.; *shan goorie*, romp, M2.; *shòvi gùri*, shopkeeper, W2.; *sprafing gùri*, tramp, beggar, W2.; *tagi gùri*, shoemaker, W2.; that *gowry* has a *barra sheery*, that boy has a fine head of hair, L. [Romani. S. and C. *gáiro*.]
474. *gùrni*, ox, bull, cow, W2.; *gournie*, S1.; *gournè*, Bd.; *gourny*, L.; *gouni*, C.; *goornie*, M1.; *gownie*, *govni*, M2.; *goorie*, O.; *gurney*, W1.; *gruni*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *goóroni*, *grōv*. von S. *gurumni*.]
475. *ha*, to eat, M1.; *haen* [translated 'to eat,' but really *ha-ing*, i.e. 'eating'], Bd., L.; *haw*, W2.; *ha* (imper.) L.; *ha barrey*, eat plenty, W1.; *ha thee haben*, eat thy food, L. 41 (*f.n.*), [Romani. S. and C. *haw*.]
476. *hàban*, bread, food, loaf, a meal, meat, victuals, W2.; *habben*, S1., S2., M1., M2., W1.; *haben*, Bd., L., C., T.; *halin*, C., M2.; *habben kairer*, baker of bread, S1., M1.; *hàban kérer*, W2.; *habben keir*, baker's shop, M1.; *haben skewes*, dishes, Bd.; *grais haben*, horse's or beast's meat, Bd.; *shanna haben*, without food, I am hungry, Bd., L.; *gan to feck barra Habben*, going to get my dinner, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *hóben*.]
477. *haffri*, halfpenny, W1. [? Eng. 'half.']
478. *hairi*. See *hira*.
479. *halin*. See *hàban*.
480. *hammy*, bad-mouthed horse, M. 207.
481. *hantle*, ninny, M2.
482. *hantle*. See *hantùl*.
483. *hantùl*, folk, W2.; *hantle*, M1., M2.; *hantùl* of the *gav*, woman of the town, W2.; *been hantle*, good country people, M. 115. [Perhaps the North Eng. 'hantle' (=many, numerous) which is not known before c. 1700 and is of obscure origin.]

484. *hári*. See *hira*.
485. *harro*, sword, S1., S2.; *háro*, Gr. [Romani. S. and C. *háuro*. Pott, ii. 161; Pasp. *khandó*.]
486. *hatsh*, stay, come: *hatch* here, come here, S1., S2.; *hatch* the *mumbi*, light [sic] the candle, W1.; *hatsh* the *mumbli*, put out the candle, W2. See *atsh*. [Romani. S. and C. *hatch*.]
487. *hawer*, eater: *shan hawer*, bad feeder, M. 207. [Romani *haw* + Eng. agent suffix.]
488. *hazel*. See *aizel*.
489. *heefie*, spoon, S1., M1.
490. *hg*, to eat, W1. [Misprint for *ha*.]
491. *hi-colour*, red, C., M2. [Eng. 'high colour'.]
492. *hing*, to swindle, M1.
493. *hinger*, kilt, C., M2.; coat, M2., W2. [Eng., that which 'hings' or hangs. Cf. *dreeper*, *swinger*.]
494. *hira*, halfpenny, penny, M1.; *hira*, M1.; *hirie*, M2.; *hiri*, C.; *hári*, *hairi*, W2.; *suchira*, sixpence, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *hárr*. Pott, ii. 168.]
495. *hiri*. See *hira*.
496. *hog*, shilling, silver, money, Bd., Bw., C., M1., M2., T., W2.; ten *hog*, ten shillings, C. [See derivations suggested in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 217, B. and L. i. 440, and *O. E. D.* 'hog' sb. 8.]
497. *hoki*, to lie, deceive, W2.; *hocyng*, to lie [lit. lying], W1. [Romani. Borrow, *hokka*. von S., *chocháva*.] See *húki*.
498. *hollivers*. See *holovers*.
499. *holohers*. See *holovers*.
500. *holovers*, stockings, C., M2.; *holohers*, Bd.; *hollofers*, C., M2., O.; *olivers*, S1., S2., M1.; *hollivers*, G. [Romani. S. and C. *olivas*, *hoólavas*. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 366. Pott, ii. 169.]
501. *hoosel*. See *aizel*.
502. *hornie*, policeman, M1., M2.; *hornies*, constables, Bd.; *horny*, L.; *horney*, W1.; *horni*, W2., T.; *horney's aan*, policeman's coming, W1. [Cf. 'hornie' as a nickname for the devil.]
503. *hotchets*. See *tshat*.
504. *hotchitrie*. See *chaeterie*.
505. *howfie*, mutch, cap, M1., M2.; bonnet, M. 209; *huft*, *hufer*, T. [This word occurs in many Anglo-Romani lists, e.g. Bryant,

hoova; Harriott, *kufa*, *kufo*; Goddard Johnson (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 211), *hoovah*; Norwood (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 211 and 215), *húff*(*ž*) and *húfer*; S. and C., *hóofa*, *kóofa*; Roberts (*J. G. L. S.*, v. 187), *huffo*. The derivation of the forms in *k* from Greek *κούφια* seems reasonable, though rejected by Miklosich (iii. 41), and perhaps the forms in *h* are only variants, but it is worth noting that there is the A. S. *húfe*, M. E. *howfe*, which might be the parent of the forms in *h*.]

506. *howie been baishen* [?how have you been beshing], how are you? S1.
507. *hufer*, *hufi*. See *howfie*.
508. *hùki*, lie (sb. or vb.), W2. [Romani.] See *hoki*.
509. *humf*, give me, S2.; *humff*, S1.
510. *hurley*, cow, M1.
511. *hwíden*, speak, answer, W2. See *wíden*.
512. *hwàrli*, cart, W2.; *whirli*, C.; *hurly*, O.; *hurley*, M1.; *hurlie*, train, M2.; *whorlie*, small cart, G.; *whirli ceir*, cart shed, C., M2.; *whurli kean*, M2. [Eng. See O. E. D. *hurly*, 'a porter's barrow, a hand-cart.']
513. *ingrim*s, pincers, S2.; *yag-ingrim*s, fire-irons, S2. [Perhaps a corruption of the Romani gen. pl. inflexion *-engro*.]
514. *isel*. See *aizel*.
515. *isgeamhas*. See *sgeamhas*.
516. *ja*, to go, walk, L., M1., M2.; *jaw*, S1., L., M1.; *já*, W2.; *jan*, C., M2., T.; *jal*, W2., T.; *jaw drom*, take the road, get off quickly, S2.; move on, M1.; *jaw vree wautheriz*, go away to your bed, S1.; *jaw vree*, go away, S1., S2.; *ja anee*, *ja andree*, go in, M2.; *ja avree*, *javree*, *ja 'vree*, *j'avree*, *ja 'ree*, *jaw vree*, go away, go on, M1., M2.; *jan avri*, go away, C. [*jan* is the correct form for the 2nd pers. plur. imperative]; *jal avrè*, W2.; *jawin' avri*, going away, M. 115; *jawin' awast*, going away, M. 203; *jawin' on the groy*, riding, L.; *jawing*, going, W2.; *jawd*, went, M. 298. [Romani. S. and C. *jal*, *jaw*. Sampson: *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 246, *ján*. von S. *džáva*.]
517. *jaglers*, pins, C., M2. [Eng. colloquial and dialectal: things which 'jag.']
518. *jairdah*, woman's apron, S1., S2. [Romani. See S. and C. p. 22 and Sampson: *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 79.]
519. *jan*, to go, walk. See *ja*.

520. *jan*, to know, to mind, M1., M. 444, W2., T.; d'ye no *jan* it's *morgan*, do you not know it's morning, F. [Romani.]
See *jin*.
521. *jaur*, leg, S1. [?ja-er=goer.]
522. *jaw*, *jawd*, *jawing*. See *ja*.
523. *jaw*, drink: *jaw't* oot of the *maachtie*, drink [it] out of the bottle, M. x (f.n.). [Perhaps from Eng. 'jaw' vb. 2, O. E. D., but cf. Gael. *deoch*, drink (sb.).]
524. *jiga*. See *jigger*.
525. *jigger*, door, C, M1., M2.; *jiger*, T.; *gigger*, door-frame, W1.; *jiga*, door-jamb, door, gate, W2.; *jilt* the *jigger*, shut the door, M. xii (f.n.). [Harman: *gygger*, doore. See O. E. D. *jigger*, 6.]
526. *jilt*, shut: *jilt* the *jigger*, M. xii (f.n.). [? A by-form of Eng. 'jolt.']
527. *jin*, know, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *jin*. von S. *džanava*.]
See *jan*.
528. *jinis*, twopence, C. [Misprint for *jiuis*.]
529. *jinny-mugs*, bagpipes, MR. [? Lit. 'mouth-instrument.' Ginny (C. D. 1827) and *mug*.]
530. [*jîr*], to ease nature: *jeer*, M1. [S. and C. *jeer*, rump.] See *sjair*.
531. *jîr*, muck, W2.; *jîr kër*, privy, W2.; *jîr skrîv*, muck-cart, W2.
532. *jirgin*, hen, M1. See M. xv (f.n.).
533. *jius*, money, C., M2.; *jus*, C.; five *jus*, five shillings, C. See *duce* and *juce*.
534. *joogl*. See *jukel*.
535. *joogl*, kettle, M1.
536. *juce*, two, twopence, M2.; *juce wuns*, twopence, M2. See *duce*.
537. *jugle*, five shillings, C.
538. *jugli*. See *jukel*.
539. *jūk*, man, T. [Irish Tinker *gyuk*, *dyuk*, *juk*, old man.]
540. *jukal*, dozen, M1.; *jucal*, M2.
541. *jukel*, dog, hound, W2., T.; *jucal*, S1., S2.; *dugal*, S1.; *tugel*, Bd.; *juggal*, Bw., W1.; *juggle*, C.; *joogal*, *jugl*, M1.; *yucal*, M1., M. 446; *jugal*, M2., M. 446; *joogl*, M2.; *jougl*, *juckal*, M. 446; *jugli*, *jūg*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *jookel*. von S. *džuklo*.]
542. *jumpers*, cranks, tinklers' tools, M1. [Eng. See O. E. D. 'jumper,' sb. 6.]

543. *jus*. See *jius*.
544. *k*. See also *c*.
545. *kaidie*, hat, bonnet, M1., M2.; *caily*, M1.; *caidi*, M. 438; *kēdi*, T. [Common slang. See B. and L., i. 208. ? Cognate of Fr. *coiffe* and Lat. *cappa*.]
546. *kain*. See *ken*.
547. *kaisim*, cheese, M1.; *cesum*, *caesum*, C.; *kaisum*, M2.; *kaisin*, M1.; *kaesin*, O.; *kesam*, T.; *shuker beenship kaisim*, awfully good cheese, M. xi (f.n.). [Harman: *cassan*, cheese; Lat. *caseum*.] See *chizcazin*.
548. *kaj*, cheese, M2.
549. *kalik*, bone, W2.; *callies*, W1.; *pīri kaliks*, ankle, W2. [Romani. By metathesis from *kokalo*.]
550. *kallo*, man, M. xvii (f.n.). [Lit. 'a black man,' i.e. a Gypsy. Romani. See No. 551.]
551. *kalo*, black, Bd., L.; *callo*, S1.; *kawlo*, L.; *kallo*, *kaulo*, M1.; *callo gaugie*, black man, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *kaulo*. von S. *kālo*.]
552. *kālshe*s, breeches, trousers, Gr.; *calshes*, S1., S2., M1., M2.; *calshas*, Bd.; *calches*, Bw., W1.; *calshis*, L. p. 147, C.; *calisis*, C., M2.; *calsi*, C.; *calsie*, M2.; *kalatshs*, W2.; *calaches*, W1. [Romani. Unknown to Anglo-Romani vocabularies, but Mr. E. O. Winstedt states that the form *kolčis* was obtained from Hugheses in Kent about thirty years ago. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47 and iv. 224.] See *cleashes*.
553. *kam*, sun, Bd., L. [Romani. S. and C. *kam*. von S. *kham*.]
554. *kam*, stink, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *kan*. von S. *khan*.]
555. *kan*, ear, Bd., L. [Romani. S. and C. *kan*. von S. *kan*.]
556. [*kangri*], church: *cang-geerie*, S1., M. 447; *canghri*, Bd.; *cangrie*, *cangeerie*, M1.; *kangrie*, M2., M. 447; *cangri*, *kanli*, M. 185; *kanlie*, M2., M. 447; *canghri patrē*, church minister, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *kóngeri*, *kóngri*. von S. *kangeri*.]
557. *kani*, hen, fowl, cock, L., T.; *caunie*, S1., S2., M1.; *kannē*, Bd.; *kanni*, R.; *cani*, *gani*, *gauni*, C.; *kanie*, M1.; *kaunie*, M1., M2.; *gaunie*, M2., O.; *kāni*, *kawni*, W2.; *canni*, W1.; *caunies*, chickens, S1.; wild *kaunie*, pheasant, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *kānni*, *kaχni*. von S. *kachni*.]
558. *kanie*, sheep, M2. See *carie*.
559. *kanli*. See *kangri*.

560. *kári*, penis. Perhaps to be recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1540. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 162, W2.; *carie*, S2., M1. [Romani. S. and C. *kaúri*, *korri*. von S. *káro*.]
561. *kas*, hay, Bd., W2.; *cás*, L., M1.; *carse*, L., M1.; *cass*, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *kas*. von S. *khas*.]
562. *kashti*, *kashtie*, *kashtis*. See *kasti*.
563. *kasti*, wood, stick, post, staff, withy, fence, tree, fruit-tree, W2.; *castie*, S1., M1., M2.; *casté*, Bd.; *kashti*, L.; *casti*, C.; *kash-tie*, M1., M2.; *kastie*, O.; *casties*, trees, S1.; wood, S2.; *castis*, whins, C.; *kashtees*, *kashties*, fences, firewood, M1., M2.; *kashtis*, T.; *cashtri*, walking stick, C.; *baurie kashtie*, *shukar kashtie*, stick (good), M1. [Romani. S. and C. *kosht*. von S. *kast*.] See *kost*.
564. *kattler*, cat, M. 446.
565. *kaunie*, *kauni*. See *kani*.
566. *keal*. See *kíl*.
567. *kean*. See *ken*.
568. *kecklers*, eggs, M1., M. 447; *cacklers*, C., M2. [Eng. Onomatopœic.]
569. *kédi*. See *kaidie*.
570. *keechan*, knife, S1.
571. *ken*. See *kin*.
572. *ken*, house, T.; *kain*, Bd., M2., O.; *cian*, Wn., C.; *cen*, *cine*, *ciam*, C.; *kean*, M2., G.; *kian*, *kiam*, M2.; *kien*, *kain*, O.; *kain*, tent, M. 447; *cian bin*, tent [Lit. 'little house'], Wn.; *cian toim*, white house, cottage, Wn.; *been kien*, church, O. [Harman: *ken*, house. Irish and Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 209-10.]
573. *kep*. See *kip*.
574. *kēr*, house, T.; *kair*, S1., S2., M1., M2.; *keir*, Bd., L., M1., M2., F.; *ciar*, C.; *kiar*, M2.; *ker*, W1.; *kér*, W2.; *kier*, shop, M1.; *bara kier*, big house, M1.; *bára kēr*, mansion, country-seat, farmhouse, W2.; *blaw kēr*, flour-mill, W2.; *cran-ciar*, farmhouse, C.; *jír kēr*, privy, W2.; *masser kier*, butcher's shop, M2.; *mútering kēr*, urinal, W2.; *píving kēr*, inn, W2.; *raj kēr*, asylum, W2.; *shan keir*, bad lodging-house, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *kair*. von S. *khér*.]
575. *kérer*, maker, W2.; *kairer*, S1., M1.; *habben kairer*, baker, S1., M1.; *hában kérer*, W2. [Romani *kēr*, to make+Eng. agent suffix *er*. S. and C. *kair*. von S. *keráva*.]
576. *kesam*. See *kaisim*.

577. *kian*. See *ken*.
578. *kiddie*, boy, M. 446. [Common slang.]
579. *kien*. See *ken*.
- 579.* [*kil*], butter: *ceel*, C. [Romani. S. and C. *kil*. von S. *khil*.]
580. [*kial*], cheese: *kēāl*, Bd.; *keal*, L., M1. [Romani. S. and C. *kal*. von S. *kiral*.]
581. *kin*, to sell, W1., W2.; *kīn*, W2.; *ken*, W2.; *keenan*, selling, Bd. [Romani. Apocopated form of S. and C.'s *bikin*. von S. *bikīndva*, or confusion of *bikin*, to sell, and *kin*, to buy.]
582. *kinchen*, child, children, M1., O., T.; *censhin*, C.; *kinshen*, S1.; *kinchens' toggerie*, bed-clothes, blankets, M1. [Slang from German *Kindchen*.]
583. *kip*, bed, Bd., C., M1., O., W2., T.; *kep*, S1., W1., T.; *kyp*, G.; *shan kip*, bad bed, M. x (f.n.); *shuker kip*, good bed, M. x (f.n.). [See B. and L., i. 492 and O. E. D.]
584. *kirmush*, shirt, M1.; *carmush*, C., M2. [See Nos. 1000 and 1013.]
585. *klamis*. See *klémi*.
586. [*kleg*], key: *cleg*, L., M1.; *klegan*, Bd., L. [Romani. ? A form of *clichi*. Pott, ii. 122.]
587. [*kleg*], to shut: *clegin* the outhur, shutting or locking the door, Bd.; *clegin'* the outhur, L. p. 37 (f.n.); *cleg*, L., M1.
588. *klémi*, stone, W2.; *cleni*, *clini*, C.; *clemmie*, M1.; *klamis*, testicles, W2. See *klūnmé*.
589. *klissen*, to shut, M1.; *klissen* the wooder, *chauvie*! shut the door, boy, M. 338. [Romani. S. and C. *klisin*, lock (sb.).]
590. *klísti*, soldier, policeman, L., Gr.; *klistie*, S1., S2., Md., M1.; *kliestie*, Bd., M1.; *kliesti*, L. [Romani. von S. *klisto*. Unknown in Anglo-Romani, except in the vb. *klister*, recorded by Sampson, J. G. L. S., Old Series, iii. 76, instead of the usual Anglo-Romani *kister*.]
591. *klotsh*. See *clach*.
592. *klūnmé*, stone, W2. See *klémi*.
593. *kost*, stick, staff, W2. See *kasti*. [Romani.]
594. *koua*: *koua* the *mūmbli*, light the candle, W2. ['Similarly used for a forgotten word in English Romani.' E. O. Winstedt. See also Sampson: J. G. L. S., Old Series, iii. 76. Romani. S. and C. *kóvva*, thing. von S. *kova*.] See *koui*.

595. *kouet*, cheat, W2.; I'm *koueted*, I'm bested (in a bargain), W2.
596. *koui*, thing, goods, booty, plunder, W2.; *cowie*, W1.; *cowie*, head, key, M1.; thing, anything, M. 444; *kowi*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *kóvva*, thing. von S. *kova*.]
597. *kran*, farm, M2.; *cran*, C.
598. *krankair*, farmhouse, M1.; *cran cier*, C. [*kran* + Romani *kēr*.]
599. *kranshers*, apples, M2.; *crunshers*, C.; *kranhers*, M1.; *cranshers*, M. 179. [Eng. 'crunchers.']
600. *krishen*: *krishen dēvēs*, how do you do? T.
601. *krókùs*, doctor, physician, W2.; *crocas*, W1. [See Hotten, p. 133.]
602. *krumpers*. See *crimpers*.
603. *kùfi*, silly, foolish, daft, W2.; *cuffy*, W1. [Diminutive of 'coof,' for which see O. E. D.]
604. *kushto*, good, R. [Romani. S. and C. *koóshto*. Pott, ii. 121.]
605. *kdtshi*, drink (sb.), W2.; *couchie*, W1.
606. *kyp*. See *kip*.
607. *lag*, water, L. p. 148. [See O. E. D. 'lag' sb.]
608. [*lag*-], to transport: *lagan* a *gadgé*, transporting a man, Bd.; *laggin* a *godgy*, L. p. 148 (f.n.). [See O. E. D. 'lag' vb.]
609. *lagged*, steal, M1. [Irish cant. See B. and L., ii. 3.]
610. *laig*. See *lig*.
611. *lairgin*, footling (child), C. [? A form of the next word.]
612. *lairin*, child, prattler, C., M2.; *lurin*, C., M2.; *liurin*, C.; *lanyee*, O. [Perhaps a form of No. 617.]
613. *laj*, shame, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *ladj*. von S. *ladž*.]
614. *lalo*, red. Perhaps to be recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1540. [See J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 162.]
615. *lanach*, highway, Wn.
616. *lanyee*. See *lairin*.
617. *larkeen*, girl, M. 445. [Cf. J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 172, *larkin*. Irish Tinker *lakin*, from Gael. *cailin*.]
618. *lav*, name, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *lav*. von S. *lab*.]
619. *lears*, ears, S1. [Eng. 'ears' disguised by prefixed consonant.]
620. *lee*, miss, S1.; *bing lee*, devil miss me, S1.; *bing lee ma*, S2.; *ruffie lee ma*, S1. [Scots pronunciation of Eng. 'leave,' or a mistranslation of Romani *le*, 'to take.']

621. *leehgh callo*, blue, S1. [*leehgh* must be a misprint for a Northern pronunciation of Eng. adj. 'light.' *callo* is Romani *kalo*, black.]
622. *leel*. See *lil*.
623. *lellam*, farm, O. See *lennam*.
624. *lemman*: *lemman cowl*, Orangeman, M. 185. [? Eng. 'lemon.']
625. *lennam*, earth, ground, M1., M2., F.; *lenum*, C.; *lennum*, M2.; hair, Bd., L.; *lannam*, hair of the head, L. p. 148. [Possibly two distinct words.]
626. *libbitch stallin*, lodgings, M1. [See B. and L., ii. 14.]
627. *lidiri*, zinc, C.
628. *lig*, road, way, M1., M2.; *laig*, *luig*, C.
629. *liggie*, church, M1.
630. *lightment*, day, T. See *beenlightment*.
631. *lil*, pound (money), W2.; *leel*, bank notes, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *lil*, paper. von S. *lil*.]
632. *line*, nine, S1. [? A disguised form of Eng. 'nine.']
633. *linkie*, adder, M2.; *linki*, C. [? Eng. 'link.' Cf. *lupie*.]
634. *liogach*, boy, Wn.; *liogach bin*, small boy, Wn. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 211.]
635. *lirikan*, light, W2. [sb.]; *lirikan tshat*, lantern, match, W2. [*liri* 'light' is common among children in Scotland.]
636. *lirikan*, to light: *lirikan the mumbli*, W2.; *learican the mumbi*, light the candle, W1.
637. *liurin*. See *lairin*.
638. *loan*. See *lon*.
639. *lodge*. See *loj*.
640. *loge*. See *loj*.
641. *loj*, watch, clock, W2.; *lodge*, Bd., C., M2; *loge*, Bd., W1. [Cf. French *horloge*.]
642. *lon*, salt, S1., Bd., L., M2.; *loan*, C.; *lon paunie*, the sea, salt water, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *lon*. von S. *lón*.]
643. *loor*. See *lowa*.
644. *lormos*, another country, M. 447.
645. *loudli*, lodgings, quarters, W2.; *lodie*, S1.; *lodlie*, S2. *loudlie*, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *lod*, to lodge. von S. *lodepen*, lodgings.]
646. *loudnie*, romp, whore, S1., M1., M2. [Romani. S. and C. *loóbni*, *loódni*. von S. *lubni*.] See *lùbni* and *lugni*.

647. *lowa*, money, silver, S1., S2.; *lowie*, coin, money, S1., S2. L. p. 148, M1., O.; *luer*, Bd.; *lui*, *liui*, *liuer*, *lower*, C.; *lour*, M1.; *leur*, M2.; *loor*, M. xv. (*f.n.*); *lówé*, W2.; *lówi*, W2.; *lowi* (pl. coins), T.; *barè loue*r, good money, Bd.; *bara lowie*, big money, M. xv. (*f.n.*); *been liuer*, silver brooch, M2.; *dústa lóvo*, plenty money, Gr. [Harman: *lowre*, money. See Groome's note on this word, *In G. Tents*, p. 251 (*f.n.*). Romani. S. and C. *lóvo*. von S. *lóvo*.]
648. *lùbni*, prostitute, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *loóbni*. von S. *lubni*.] See *loudnie* and *lugni*.
649. *ludni*, haste, C.
650. *luer*. See *lowa*.
651. *luften*, eight, S1. [Mik., iii. 40.]
652. *lugni*, prostitute, W2.; *shan luginé*, bad woman, Bd. [Romani.] See *loudnie* and *lùbni*.
653. *lui*. See *lowa*.
654. *luirean*, shoes, Wn.
655. *lupie*, serpent, M2.; *lupi*, C. [? Eng. 'loop.' Cf. *linkie*.]
656. *ma*, me: *bing lee ma*, S1., S2.; *ruffie lee ma*, devil miss me, S1.; *ruffie feck ma*, devil take me, S1. [Dialect form of Eng. 'me.']
657. *maachtie*, bottle, M1.; *jaw't oot of the maachtie*, drink [it] out of the bottle, M. x. (*f.n.*). [? Romani *moxto*.]
658. *maccam*, rabbit, M1.; *baurie maccam*, hare, M1. [Eng. 'mawken.']
659. *mackem*, puddled clay, M. 207. [? Eng. 'make,' or Romani *makáva*.]
660. *maise*, house, C.
661. *maisie*, jug, M2.; *masi*, C. [? Gaelic *méis*, a basket; Norse *meiss*, a wooden box, a wicker basket; Shetland dialect, *de maishie*, open basket.]
662. *managee*. See *manishie*.
663. *mang*, moon, S1.
664. *mang*, to speak, ask, pray, talk, S1., S2., M2., W2., G., T.; *mange*, L.; *mangin*, speaking, Bd.; *manging*, W1., W2.; *mangin cant*, speaking their own language [i.e. the tinklers'], Bd.; *mitsh your manging*, hold your tongue, W2.; *chi chi had your mangang*, stop bad language, W1.; *shan manging*, cursing, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *mong*, to beg. von S. *mangáva*.]

665. *manishie*, woman, wife, M1., M2.; *managie*, S1., S2.; *manishie*, Bd.; *manishi*, L., C., M. xiii. (f.n.), T.; *monisha*, R.; *monishna*, T.; *munshi*, C.; *monishi*, *monashi*, W2.; *manushi*, W1., T.; *munisi*, girl, C.; *baurie manishie*, queen, gentlewoman, M1.; *bári monishi*, beautiful woman, lady, W2.; *been manishie*, fine woman, queen, M1., M2.; *nawken manishies*, tinker women, F.; *sprachin manishie*, beggar, M2. [Romani. S. and C. *manoóshni*, *moóshni*, *mónoshi*. von S. *manušni*.]
666. *mansi*, pail, C. See *maisie*.
667. *már*, to fight, hurt, punish, strike, hit, beat, Bd., W2.; *mar*, S1., S2., L., M1., W1.; *mār*, T.; I'll *már* you, *chavies*, I'll punish you, bairns, Bd.; *máring*, fighting, quarrel, noise, row, W2.; *máring gúri*, boxer, pugilist, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *mor*. von S. *maráva*.] See *mawr* and *marn*.
668. *marley*, waxcloth, M1. [See O. E. D. 'marly.' Sc. and dial. 'Spotted, streaked, marbled' = marled.]
669. *marn*, to scold, fight, Bd., M1.; 'to fight with hand or tongue,' L. See *már* and *mawr*.
670. *marred*, to break, M2. [Lit. 'broken.' Eng. 'mar' or Romani *mor*.]
671. *mas*, flesh, meat, beef, bacon, Bd., L., M1., W2., T.; *mass*, S1., S2., C., M1.; *mast*, C., M2.; *grùfi mas*, bacon, W2.; *mulle-mass*, dead meat, M. 208; *shuker mas*, fat meat, M. xviii. (f.n.). [Romani. S. and C. *mas*. von S. *mas*.]
672. *mashki*. See *matchka*.
673. *mashlam*, brass, metal, tin, wire, ice, tin-cans, S1., S2., M1., M.445,447; *maiselum*, C.; *maeslim*, iron, O.; *meslim*, soulder, O.; *beenship mashlam*, good metal, S1., S2., M1.; tin, M1. [A good Eng. word now obsolete in the literary language. See M. and S. *mestling* and *maselin*; O. E. D. 'maslin.']
674. *masi*. See *maisie*.
675. *maska*. See *matchka*.
676. *maslachadh*: *nòid a maslachadh air an lanach*, a man walking on the highway, Wn. [In Gaelic this means 'reproaching.' As Shelta it may be related to No. 1223.]
677. *mass*, hand, S1. [? Same as *mas*.]
678. *masser*, butcher, C. [lit. 'flesher']; *masser cier*, butcher's shop, C.; *masser kier*, M2. [Romani *mas* + Eng. agent suffix *er*.]
679. *mast*. See *mas*.

680. *matchka*, cat. [Perhaps to be recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1540. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 162], S1., S2., M1., M. 446; *matchkin*, Bd., L.; *maskie*, O., M. 446; *maska*, *maski*, *mùski*, W2.; *muskie*, W1.; *mashki*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *máitchka*. von. S. *mačka*.]
681. *matchkin*. See *matchka*.
682. *matchko*, fish, Bd., L., M1. [Romani. S. and C. *matcho*. von S. *máčo*.]
683. *mawr*, kill, slay, W2. See *már* and *marn*.
684. *me*, *mi*, sheep, C., M2. [Eng., onomatopœic.]
685. *mealaidh*, sweet, Wn. See *meal*.
686. *meal*, sweet, C.; *mealie*, M2. [Gaelic *meala*, honey.]
687. *mealish*, sugar, M2. [Gaelic *milis*, sweet.]
688. *meartsacha*: *s' dèis sium a meartsacha air a charan*, we are going on the sea, Wn.
689. *meffemel*. See *famble*.
690. *meggat*, sheep, lamb, M2., O.; *megit*, C., G.
691. *megrin*, staggered horse, M1.; *meghrin'*, M. 207. [Eng. *megrins* 'the staggers.']
692. *meoutcat*, cat, C. [Lit. *mewing tshat*.] See *neowinchaet*.
693. *merryfeet*, rabbit, M1. [? Eng., from its nimble pace.]
694. *meslim*. See *mashlam*.
695. *mi*. See *me*.
696. *midjik*, sixpence, M1.; *shilling*, M2. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 217.]
697. *miltaug*, *miltjug*, shirt, coat, M1., M2. [Shelta and Cant. Cf. Haggart: *mill tuig*, 'a shirt'; Norwood, *Academy*, 1st Jan. 1887, *mill-togs*; Leland: *The Gs.*, p. 364, *mélthog*.]
698. *mire*, water, M2. [Eng.]
699. *mirkie*, grandfather, O.
700. *misferret*, rabbit, M1.
701. *mishie*. See *munshi*.
702. *misk*, dyke, O.
703. *mitsh*, stop, W2.; *mitch yer mangang*, hold your tongue, W1.; *mitsh your manging*, W2.
704. *mo*, *my*: *air'mo ghil*, Wn. [Gaelic *mo*, *my*.] See *ghil*.
705. *mog*, mouth, W1. [Slang 'mug.']
706. *moi*. See *mui*.
707. *molzie*, wine, S1., S2. See *mul*.
708. *mongeri*, morrow: *te-mongeri*, to-morrow, W2. [Metathesis of *morgen*.]

709. *monishi*. See *manishie*.
710. *monkerie*, lodgings, M1.; *monkery*, *been-monkery*, country, M. 447. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 127.]
711. *montanes*, hill, M2.; *mntuch*, O. [Eng., obsolete form of 'mountain.']
712. *monteclear*, sea, water, M2., M3., M. 446; *mounticler*, C.; *mnticler*, rain, C.; *muncri-clear*, C., G.; *montyclear*, M1. M. 446; *mnteclear*, O.; *barrie montyclear*, sea, M1.; *been-ship monteclear*, spring well, M2.
713. *moolit*, kill: *moolit* it, kill it, M1. See *mǎli*.
714. *moozies*. See *musi*.
715. *mordid*, break, C. See *marred*.
716. *morgen*, morning, morrow, to-morrow, M1.; dawn, M. 445; *morgan*, Bd., W2.; *morgi*, W2.; the *morgi*, this morning, W2.; *te-monger*i, to-morrow, W2.; d'ye no *jan* it's *morgan*, do you not know it's morning, F. [Scots form of 'morning' or German *Morgen*.]
717. *morghee*, moorfowl, M2.; *moorghee*, hen, R.; *morye*, *murge*, *morghe*, C. [Found only in Persian Romani, where it is probably a loan from Hindustani. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 319; New Series, i. 183.]
718. *mort*, woman, wife, S1., S2., C., Gr., Md., M1., M2., M. 444, W2; *moirt*, C., M2.; *mort* and *kinchin*, wife and child, W2.; old *mort*, mother, W2.; *baurie mort*, good wife, S1.; queen, M1.; *been mort*, lady, queen, S2, M1.; *beenship mort*, fine woman, gentlewoman. M1., M2.; *shan mort*, bad wife, S1. [Old Cant and found in practically all Cant vocabularies, but no derivation given. Dr. Sampson suggests O.F. *amorete*, *amorette* as origin.]
719. *morye*. See *morghee*.
720. *mouds*, peats, S1., M1. [Northern pron. of Eng. 'moulds.']
721. *mough*. See *muog*.
722. *moulid*, death, M1.; *moolie*, S1., S2.; *mulled*, C.; *moudit*, *mullet*, M2. [Romani with Eng. suffixes.] See *moolit* and *mǎli*.
723. *moulins*, potatoes, M1., M2. [? Derivative of Eng. 'mould.']
724. *mufler*, cat, S1.
725. *mui*, mouth, face, M1.; *mooie*, S1., S2.; *moi*, Bd., W2.; *moey*, *mōëy*, L.; *mooey*, M1.; *mǎli*, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *moči*. von S. *mui*.]
726. *muitie*, coney, M2. See *muitis*.

727. *muitis*, rabbit, C., M2.; *moodie*, G.
728. *mul*, wine, Bd., L. [Romani. S. and C. *mol*. von S. *mól*.]
729. [*mūli*], kill, die; *moolie*, S1., S2., M1.; *moulé*, Bd.; *mullé*, L.; *moud*, M1.; *mullie*, W1.; *mūli*, W2.; *moolie*, I'll kill you, S1., S2.; *moolie a gaugie*, kill the man, S2.; *mūli* the *gūri*, kill the man, W2.; *mouliau*, dying, Bd.; *mullin'*, L.; *moulyin*, M1.; *moulate*, dead, Bd.; *mullet*, C.; *mūl'd*, W2.; *mooled*, murdered, S2. [Romani. See next word.]
730. *mulle*, dead: *mulle-mas*, dead-meat, M. 208. [Romani. S. and C. *moolo*. von S. *mūlo*.]
731. *mulled*, death, C. See *mūli* and *moulid*.
732. *mullet*, *moulate*, *mooled*. See *mūli*.
733. *mumbi*. See *mumli*.
734. *mumli*, candle, lamp, L., C., W1.; *mumlie*, S1., S2., M1.; *mumlé*, Bd.; *mumbi*, W1.; *mūmbli*, W2.; *mubli*, *murler*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *múmbli*, *mūmbli*. von S. *momgli*.]
735. *mun*, mouth, face, M1., M2., O., G., T.; *mum*, C.; *muns*, W1.; *mūns*, W2. [B.E. *muns*, face.]
736. *muncri-clear*. See *monteclear*.
737. *mungens*, *mungins*, rabbits, C.
738. *mun*, *muris*, dyke, wall, C.
739. *munisi*, girl, C. See *manishie*.
740. *munshi*. See *manishie*.
741. *munshi*, tobacco, C., MR.; *mishie*, M2.; *minshie*, O. [Shelta. Cf. Arnold: *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, No. xlii. *mūnehias*; B. and L., ii. 73.]
742. *muog*, pig., M2.; *mough*, C. [Irish *muk*.]
743. *murge*. See *morghee*.
744. *muris*. See *mun*.
745. *mush*, man, R. [Romani. S. and C. *moosh*, *manoosh*. von S. *manuš*.]
746. *mush*, umbrella, M1., W2., T.; *mush fakir*, umbrella mender, M1.; *mush féker*, W2. [Eng. slang; shortened form of 'mushroom.']
747. *musi*, porridge, C.; *moozies*, S1. [Unknown to Anglo-Romani, but Welsh Romani has *mūza*. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 144 (*f.n.*.)]
748. *mūski*. See *matchka*.
749. [*muter*], to micturate, urine; *mūta*, W2.; *mūtering kér*, urinal, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *muter*. von S. *mutēr-vava*.]

750. *miltsha*, tramp, mumper, W2. [See *O. E. D.* 'moocher.']
751. *mutzi*, skin, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *moótsi*, *moótska*. von S. *morcin*, leather.]
752. *muvler*. See *mumli*. [For this form cf. Crofton: *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 47 *moóvli*, and Sampson: *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 81 *muvlo*, lamp.]
753. *nab*, horn, S2., M1. [Harman: *nab*, head. See *O. E. D.*]
754. *nabchit*, cap, hat, nose, M1.; *nabchaet*, M1. [Harman: *nabchet*, hat or cap; *nab + tshat*.]
755. *naddy*, *neddy*, turnip, L. p. 148. See *ned*, *neddie*, and *nédis*.
756. *nagen*, body, Bd.; *nágins*, self; *my nágins*, myself, W2.; *your nagen*, yourself, Bd.; *by your nágins*, alone, W2. [Bd. equates this with Cont. Romani *nani kek*, 'nobody,' but it is S. and C.'s *nágo*, own.]
757. *nai*, nine, C. [Gaelic *naoi*.]
758. *naigh*, eight, S1. [? Eng. 'eight' disguised.]
759. *nais*: *nais-gaugie*, grandfather, S1., S2., Md.; *nais gadgie*, M1. [? Eng. nice.]
760. *naiscowies*, policeman, M1. [*nais + cowie* (a form of cowl, which see).]
761. *naiskel*, father, M1., M2.; *gran naiskel*, grandfather, M2.; *naiskel's naiskel*, grandfather, M1.; *naiskel's prawl*, uncle, M1.
762. *naismort*, mother, M1., M2.; *nais-mort*, grandmother, S1., S2.; *nais-nort*, Md.; *naismort's naismort*, grandmother, M1.; *gran naismort*, grandmother, M2.; *naismort's prawl*, aunt, M1.
763. *naivairn*, seven, S1.
764. *nak*, nose, S1., S2., Bd., L. [Romani. S. and C. *nok*. von S. *nak*.] See *nok*.
765. *nantis*, turnips, C.
766. *nanwil*, anvil, C.; stake, M2. [Eng. 'a nanvil' for 'an anvil.']
767. *nash*, go, run, M1., W2.; *nash avree*, go on, move on, M1.; *nash avri*, go away, M. 179; *nash avri*, W2.; *nash of Rety* [i.e. *nash avri* to], coming to you, W1.; *nashing*, race, racing, W2.; go, W1.; *nashing* on his *pîris*, running, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *nash*. von S. *našáva*.]
768. *nash*, deserter, runner, S1., S2.; *nasher*, M1.; *nasher*, W2.; *bára nasher*, active man, W2. [Romani *nash* + Eng. agent suffix *er*.]

769. *nav*, name, W2.; *naave*, Bd.; *naav*, L.; *chavie's naave*, child's name, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *nav*.]
770. *nawken*, tinkler, Gipsy, traveller, S1., S2., M. 447, W2., F.; *nokkum*, Bw.; *nawkens*, tinklers, S1., Md., M1.; *nawken manishies*, tinker women, F.; *nawkens chaeterie*, tin cans, M1.; *nawken's chaeterie*, F. [Borrow's derivation from *nok* (*Lavo-Lil*, 264) is probably as inaccurate as his derivation of the Eng. 'jockey.']
771. *nay*, ten, S1. [? Mistake for *nai*, 'nine,' which see.]
772. *neb*, nose, T. See *nab*.
773. *ned*, potato, C.; *neds*, potatoes, M2, O., G.
774. *neddie*, potato, S2. See *naddy*.
775. *nédis*, potatoes, W2.; *neddies*, S1., Bd.; *neddis*, C.; *nedis*, T.
776. *needie*, tinkler, M1.; *needie missler*, tramp, M. 447. [Shelta. See Sampson: Introd. to M. p. xv.]
777. *neel*, shilling, S1. [? Romani *lil*, pound.]
778. *nek*, knee, S1. [Back-slang.]
779. *neoutat*, cat, C. See *meoutcat*.
780. *neowinchaet*, cat, M2., M. 446; *nyowinchaet*, M1. [Lit. 'mewing' *tshat*.]
781. *nesis*, self, M1.; my *nesis*, myself, M1.; our *nesis*, ourselves, M1.
782. *nickso*, stop: *nickso bullien*, stop your talk, M. 185. [? *nik* your bullying. Cf. *nik*, none]; *nix yer mangan*, M. 447.
783. *nik*, none, W2.; *niks*, *nix*, none, nothing, T. [German *nichts*. See B. and L., ii. 83.]
784. *nik*, steal, W2. [Common slang. See *O. E. D.* 'nick,' vb. 9.]
785. *nix*. See *nickso*.
786. *nix*. See *nik*.
787. *noder*, doctor, G.
788. *nòrd*, man, Wn.; *noig*, C.; *noid a maslachadh air an lanach*, a man walking on the highway, Wn. [Shelta.]
789. *noig*. See *nòrd*.
790. *nok*, nose, S1., Bw., L. See *nak*.
791. *noytees*, turnips, M1. Cf. *nantis*.
792. *nye*, nine, M2. [Gaelic *naoi*, *naoidh*.] See *nai*.
793. *nyuck*, penny, M2.; *nyuk*, T.; three *nyuck*, threepence, M1., M2. [Shelta *nyuk*, head. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 211.]
794. *òb*: *s' deachag òb*, I am tired, Wn. [? A ghost word; *agob* = Gael. *agam*.]

795. *och*, eight, M2. [Gaelic *ochd*.]
 796. *ogle*, eye, M1.; *ogles*, eyes, M. 466. [From Eng. vb. 'ogle' or Lat. *oculus*. Cf. Haggart: *oglers*, 'eyes'.]
 797. *ogle*, look, M1., M. 466; *ogle* it, listen, M1. [Eng.]
 798. *okrie*, anything, M1. [Romani. Genit. fem. termination. For terminations become words cf. *ingrim*s (No. 513) and *mengro*, *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 311.]
 799. *olivers*. See *holovers*.
 800. *oozel*. See *aizel*.
 801. *orch*. See *atsh*.
 802. *ouser*. See *outher*.
 803. *outher*, door, L.; *ouser*, W1.; *clegin* the *outher*, shutting or locking the door, Bd. See *wuther*.
 804. *outhrie*, window, S1., S2. [Dimin. of *outher*.]
 805. *outliers*, stones, C., M2.; *utliers*, C.
 806. [*pager-*], to break: *pagrie*, S1., S2.; *pagrin*, S1.; *pagger*, M. x. (*f.n.*); *pága*, W2.; *pága'd*, broken, W2.; *davies-pagrin*, day-break, S1.; *davies pagrin*, S2. [Romani.] See *pogar*.
 807. *panam*. See *pennam*.
 808. *pani*, water, sea, river, C., T.; *paunie*, S1., S2., M1., M. 446 *paurie*, S2.; *pawné*, Bd.; *páni*, L.; *paúni*, Gr.; *pauni*, C.; *panie*, M1., M2.; *pannè*, Bd.; *pánie*, M1.; *paani*, M. 446; *pannie*, M. 438, 446; *páni*, W2.; *páni'd*, wet, W2.; *pánin'ing*, raining, washing, W2.; *baré panné*, sea, Bd.; *bári páni*, W2.; *barri páni*, L.; *barrie pánie*, M1.; *baurie paunie*, sea, ocean, grand water, S1., M1.; *lon paunie*, sea, salt water, S1.; *paunie-col*, sailor, S1.; *paunie davies*, wet day, S1.; *panie deevies*, *pennie devies*, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *páni*, *paúni*, *padni*. von S. *páni*.]
 809. *paplers*, porridge, pottage, C., M1., M2., O.; *pauplers*, S2.; *paplus*, C. [Harman: *poppelers*, porrage. Derivative of Eng. 'pap'.]
 810. *par*, belly, Bd.; *paunch*, L. [Romani. S. and C. *per*. von S. *per*.]
 811. *paras's*. See *paries*.
 812. *paresi*, pouch, W2. See *poresi*.
 813. *paries*, lice, M1.; *parris*, W1.; *paras's*, W2.
 814. *parnie*, wheat, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *pórno*, white. von S. *párno*.]
 815. *partis*, field, Bd., L. p. 148. [? Eng. 'parks.' Change of *k* to *t*.]

816. *pasher*, trust, W2. [Romani. S and C. *pásherela*. von S. *pašáva*.]
817. *pasher*, pay, buy, W2.; *pasifer*, W1.; *pasifa* (? *pasher* for), W2. [Romani. S. and C. *pésser*.]
818. *patré*, minister: *canghri patré*, Bd.; *patrie*, W1.; *patri*, Gr., W2. [Harman: *patrico*; Lat. *pater*.]
819. *patteran*, minister, M1., O.; *patrin*, M1.; *pateran-cowl*, G.
820. *paunie*, *paurie*. See *pani*.
821. *paupeenie*, goose, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *pápin*. von S. *pápin*.]
822. *pauvers*, apples, M2.; *pauvis*, C.; *pavas*, *pauvas*, plur. *pavas*'s, W2. [Romani. J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 168 *pabá*; iii. 218 *pobbó*; Bw. *Lavo-Lil*, *pauvi*. S. and C. *póbo*, *póbi*.]
823. *pavas*, *pauvas*. See *pauvers*.
824. *peartaig*, girl, Wn.; *perstag*, MR. [in a letter of 15 April 1913].
825. *peerie*, pot, S2. [Romani. S. and C. *peéri*. von S. *píri*.]
826. *pelt*, soap, M1.
827. *pen*, to tell: *pen yer naam*, what's your name? S1. [Romani. S. and C. *pen*. von S. *phenáva*.]
828. *pennam*, bread, food, M1., M2., O.; *panam*, C., T.; *penim*, G.; *penam*, hay, S2.; *pennam* (*shuker*), bread (good), M1. [Harman: *pannam*, bread. Lat. *panem*.]
829. *pennie*. See *pani*.
830. *pheson*. See *fesem*.
831. *picanninie*, little, M2. [See O. E. D. on this far-travelled word.]
832. *pigle*. See *pingle*.
833. *pinded*, bound, W2. [Might be taken as related to S. and C.'s *panded* 'shut,' but more probably from O.E. *pynd-an*, to shut up, confine. Cf. Eng. 'pinfold.']
834. *pingel*, beer, ale, porter, C. See *rauniel*.
835. *pingle*, pail, jug, C., M1., M2.; *pigle*, C.; *pinkie*, C., M1., M2., O.; *pingley-tingley*, M. 350; *pinkies*, tin dishes, M1. [O. E. D. has 'pingle, a small pan or cooking-pot of tinned iron, having a long handle.' Origin unknown. The earliest quotation for the word in O. E. D. is dated 1789.]
836. *pinkie*. See *pingle*.
837. *píri*, foot, W2.; *peerie*, S1., Bd., M1.; *pieri*, L.; plur.: *pieris*, L.; *peeries*, M1.; *pearies*, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *peeri*. von S. *píro*.]

838. *pít*, lead (metal), W2.; *peat*, W1.
839. *pív*, to drink, T.; *peeve*, M1., M2.; *pieve*, M2.; *pív*, W2.; *peevan*, drinking, Bd.; *peevin'*, L.; *peevan rómdné*, drinking spirits, Bd.; *peevan kier*, public or drinking house, Bd., M1.; *peevin' keir* 'pron. *peevan keir*,' L.; *peevin keir*, M. 172; *peevan kien*, M2.; *píving kér*, inn, W2.; *píving gúri*, innkeeper, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *pee.* von S. *pidva.*]
840. *pív*, drink, T.; *peevie*, M. 438; *peeve*, whisky, M1., M2.; *piof*, *piom*, C.; *pív*, W2.; *peav*, G.; *peevin'* 'pron. *peevan*,' L.; *piovin*, C., M2.; *baré peevan*, wine, good drink, lit. good drink or heavy drink, Bd.; *bára pív*, spirits, brandy, W2.; *piom ciar*, *piam cian*, spirit house, hotel, C. [Romani. See No. 839.]
841. [*pívi*], drunk, drunken: *peevie*, M. xiii. (f.n.); *peavy*, W1.; *pívy*, W2. [Romani from vb. *pív*.]
842. *plank'd*, hidden, W2. [Cf. *Canting Acad.* p. 42 *plant*, lay, place, or hide; *Eng. Rogue*: *plant*, to lay or hide. Haggart: *plank*, to conceal. For interchange of *k* and *t*, compare *autem* and *akhom*, *partis* and *parks*. When I was a school-boy in Glasgow twenty-five years ago, *plank* was a very common word among us.]
843. *plantstari*, moor, peat, G.
844. *plashti*, handkerchief, M2.; *morts plashtie*, shawl, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *pláshta*, cloak, cloth. von S. *pláshta*.]
845. *pluffan*, tobacco, M2.; *pluffen*, Bd.; *pluffer*, C.; *pluffin*, C., MR.; *pluffan chaet*, tobacco pipe, M2. [Eng. onomatopœic word.] See *stuff* and *fluffan*.
846. *pogar*, to break, Bd.; *poga*, L.; *póga*, W2.; *poga'd*, broken, W2.; *poggered a gnye*, thumped a horse, M3. [Romani. S. and C. *póger*.] See *pager*.
847. *pomusé*, apple, Bd., L. p. 148. [Might be taken as Romani *pomo si* (cf. Roberts's *pomya*, *J. G. L. S.*, v. 189), but perhaps it is only Eng. 'pomace.']
848. *pooklie*, pot barley, S1.
849. *porase*, pocket, Bd.; *porecy*, W1.; *paresi*, *poresi*, *púراسي*, W2. [W2. takes it as from 'purse,' but see No. 853.]
850. *porge*, arch, C. [Romani. S. and C. *poodj*. Pott, ii. 382.] See *forge*.
851. *poskie*, *poskay*, policeman, M1., O. [? Related to *puška*.]
852. *postigie*, coach, M2. [? From Eng. 'post' or 'post-gig.']

853. *pôtshi*, pocket, W2. [Eng. 'pouch' or Romani. S. and C. *poôtsi*. von S. *potisa*, *pocin*.]
854. *powiskie*. See *puška*.
855. *prancie*, horse, S1., S2.; *pranklers*, *pranklus*, horses, C. [Harman: *prauncer*, horse. Eng. 'prancer.']
856. *pranklus*. See *prancie*.
857. *pras*, food, Wn., C.; *prass*, C., M2. [Shelta *brass*; Gaelic *bras*.]
858. *praw*, son, S1., S2., M1.; *naiskel's praw*, uncle, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *pal*, brother. von S. *phral*.]
859. *prawl*, daughter, S1., S2., M1.; *naismort's prawl*, aunt, M1. [Romani. See *praw*.]
860. *prinkler*, pin, C.; brooch, M2.; needle, O.; *prinker*, C.; *prinklers*, pins, M2. [Eng. cognate of 'prick.']
861. *prod*, horse, M2., O. [See O. E. D.]
862. *prodge*, bull, C. [? From Eng. vb. 'prod.']
863. *punch*, five, S1., M1. [Romani. S. and C. *pandj*. von S. *panč*.]
864. *pûrasi*. See *porase*.
865. *pûrdi*, drunk, W2.; *purdie*, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *pórdo*, full. von S. *phordo*.]
866. *pushkin*, hare, Bd. [Cf. Eng. 'puss.']
867. *pusika*. See *puška*.
868. [*puška*], gun, musket, pistol: *powiskie*, S1., S2., M1.; *pówiski*, Gr.; *puschca*, Bw.; *prûski*, *pûska*, *pûski*, *pûsti*, W2.; *pusika*, T. [Not in S. and C., but known to many Eng. Gs. von S. *puška*.]
869. *puvi*, field, T.; to *puvi* your *grai*, to put your horse in a field, T. [Romani. S. and C. *poov*. von S., p. 119, *phûv*.]
870. *pyre*, look, M1., M. 446; *pyre* it, listen, M1. [? Eng. 'peer.']
871. *quacker*, duck, C., M2.; *quack*, *quacki*, C.; *quackie*, *quaker*, M2.; *quacklers*, G. [Eng. onomatopœic.]
872. *quod*, prison, M1.; *quad*, S1. [See O. E. D.]
873. *racan*, *raccan*. See *rattan*.
874. *rachlin*, hanged, S2.; hanged man, S1. See *racle*.
875. *racle*, to choke, execute, hang, L.; *rachle*, M1.; *raclan a gadgé*, executing a man, Bd.; *racl'n' a godgi*, L. 46 (*f.n.*); *rachle* him, throttle him, M1.; *rachelt*, killed, M1., M2.; *rachalt*, death, dead, C. [? Connected with Eng. adj. 'rackle.']
876. *radger*, sour milk, C. See *rodgered*.

877. *rai*, chief, gentleman, governor, magistrate, Bd., L.; *riah*, S1., S2., M1. [voc. case]; *roy*, L.; *rye*, M1.; *rajah*, S1., S2., M1.; *barra rye*, minister, M1.; *baurie rajah*, king, S1., M1.; *baurie riah*, S1., M1., Md.; *baurie rye*, gentleman, M1.; *been riah*, gentleman, S1., Md.; king, S1., S2.; a young *rai*, a young gentleman, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *rei*. von S. *rai*.]
878. *raj*, *rajy*, mad, foolish, lunatic, W2.; *rauge*, S1., S2., M1.; *raage*, Bd.; *rauge gadji*, daft man, M. 174; red-*rauge*, red-mad, M3.; *raj kër*, asylum, W2. [See O. E. D. 'rage.']
879. *rajah*. See *rai*.
880. *rak*, look, protect, take care of, take notice, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *rak*. von S. *rakáva*.]
881. *rakli*, girl, Bw., W2.; *racklè*, Bd.; *rokli*, L.; *rackli*, C.; *racklie*, M2.; *ratli*, woman, girl, C.; fine *dickin rockly*, good-looking girl, L. 47 (f.n.); *rinkeni rackli*, handsome girl, Bw. [Romani. S. and C. *rákli*. von S. *rakli*.]
882. *rani*, lady, gentlewoman, woman, Bd., C.; *raunie*, S1., M1., M2.; *ranné*, Bd.; *rawnne*, Bw.; *ranee*, L.; *barré* or *bein ranné*, great, kind lady, Bd.; *baurie raunie*, queen, S1., M1., Md.; *been raunie*, gentlewoman, queen, S1., M1., M2.; *bori raunie*, fine woman, M2.; a young *rani*, a young lady, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *raúni*. von S. *ráni*.]
883. *rann*, wand, C.; *raun*, C.; *ran*, switch, C. [Romani. S. and C. *ran*. von S. *rán*.]
884. *rarni*, female, C. See *rani*.
885. *rat*, blood, S1.; *ratte*, Bd., L. [Romani. S. and C. *ratt*. von S. *rat*.]
886. *rati*, night, dark, L., W2., T.; *rat*, S1., S2., C.; *raté*, Bd.; *rattie*, M1.; *ratty*, W1.; *beenship-rat*, good night, S2.; *beenship rattie*, good night, M1.; *shuker rattie*, moonlight night, M1.; clear moonlight night, F. [Romani. S. and C. *raáti*. von S. *rat*.]
887. *ratli*. See *rakli*.
888. *rattan*, rat, M1.; *raccan*, M2.; *racan*, C. [Eng. 'ratton.']
889. *rattie*, wire, M2.
890. *rattler*, train, M2.; *ratler*, C. [Eng., onomatopœic. B. E. *rattler*, coach.]
891. *rattlers*, beans, M1. [Eng. Same as above. Beans in a tin would 'rattle.']
892. *rauge*. See *raj*.

893. *raunie, rawnie*. See *rani*.
894. *rauniel*, beer, M1.; *ringel*, M2. [Shelta. See *J. L. G. S.*, Old Series, ii. 219]. Cf. *pingel*.
895. *raunkeen*, tent, M. 447. Cf. Cant *rum-ken*, fine house.
896. *reader*, licence, C. [Cf. Hotten (ed. 1875) p. 268: *reader*, pocket-book.]
897. *'ree*. See *avri*.
898. *reege*. See *rīj*.
899. *reeler*, policeman, M2., G. [Riming slang for 'peeler.']
900. *riah*. See *rai*.
901. *rīf*, itch, W2.; *reef*, M1.
902. *rīj*, pound (money), W2.; *reege*, gold, bar, £1, Bd.; *rīj*, M1., F.; *rige*, W1.
903. *rīk*, smoke, T. [Northern Eng. and Scots.]
904. *ringen*, kettle, pot, M2.; *reagain*, Wn.; *rengan*, C. [Shelta.]
905. *rinkeni*, handsome, Bw. [Romani. S. and C. *rīnkeno*, *rinkeni*.]
906. *rinni*, stars, C.
907. *rinnies*, sky, C., M2. [Cf. Welsh Romani *ravnos*.]
908. *rockens*, brackens, M2.; *dockens*, C. [Disguised form of Eng. 'dockens.']
909. *rockman*, mark, pencil, C.
910. *rodgered*, sour, M2.; *rodgered yerrin*, sour milk, M2. See *radger*.
911. *rómáné*, whisky, spirits, Bd.; *romanie*, S1., S2., M1.; *romani*, rum, whisky, etc., L.; *cheeteromanie*, dram of whiskey, S1.; *peevan rómáné*, drinking spirits, Bd. [See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 252, and New Series, iii. 63.]
912. *Romani*, Gypsy language, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *Rómani*, von S. *romēno* (m.).]
913. *rools*, barley, M1.
914. *rootlie*. See *ruble*.
915. *rori*, pudding, G.
916. *roug*, silver, S1. [Perhaps a form of *rīj*, or a misprint for *roup*.]
917. *rouler*, bridge, C.
918. *routler*, cow, S1., S2., C., Md., M1., M2., G.; calf, M2.; *rowler*, C.; *routler kiar*, cowhouse, M2. [From Eng. 'rout' to bellow.]
919. *rowler*. See *routler*.
920. *roy*. See *rai*.

921. *roy*, spoon, S2., Bd.; *roys*, spoons, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *roi*, *rói*. von S. *roi*.]
922. *ruadh*, red, M2. [Gaelic *ruadh*.]
923. *ruble*, bottle, C.; *rubil*, G.; *rouble*, rootlie, M1.
924. *ruffart*, come, C.
925. *ruffert*, no, M1., M2.
926. *rufi*, devil, C., T.; *ruffie*, S1., Gr., M1., M. 444; *ruffé*, Bd.; *rùfi*, W2.; *ruffie feck ma*, devil take me, S1.; *ruffie lee ma*, devil miss me, S1. [Harman: *ruffian*, the devil.]
927. *rùkh*, tree, L.; *rook*, Bd. See also *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 189. [Romani. S. and C. *rook*. von S. *ruk*.]
928. *runis*, turnips, C., M2. [Cf. Haggart: *rousting ronnies*, raising potatoes. ? Corruption of last syllable of 'mush-room.' Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 192.]
929. *runk*, camp, C.; tent, M. 185, 447. See *raunkeen*.
930. *ruppy*, silver, Bw. [Romani. S. and C. *roop*. von S. *rup*.]
931. *rusgi*. See *rùski*.
932. *rusgin*, peel, C. See *rùski*. [This looks like the same word as Lat. *ruscum*, butcher's broom. A.S. *risc*, a rush.]
933. *rùski*, basket, W2.; *rusgi*, C.; *rooskie*, M1.; *ruskie*, M2., O. [Cf. Crofton, *Academy*, 18·12·86, *rooski*. Same word as No. 932.]
934. *sai*. See *sy*.
935. *salachan*, swearing, C.; *sallahen*, S. 314 (*f.n.*); *sallachan*, M1.; *sallachin*, M1., M2.; *salakhin'*, W2. [Romani. See No. 941.]
936. *sallah*, to curse, cursing, S2.; may the *been gaugi sallach* ye, may God curse you, M. 370. [Romani. See No. 941.]
937. *salliment*, salt, M1., M2. [? Lat. *sal* + suffix *ment*.]
938. *saloven'*, *saloving*, swearing, oath, W2. [Romani.] See *salachan* and *sallah*.
939. *sar*, stink, W1.; *sár*, W2.
940. *saster*, iron, W1.; *sauster*, S2., M1.; *zaster*, Bd.; *sasta*, W2.; *soster*, tongs, L. [Romani. S. and C. *sàster*. von S. *saster*.]
941. *saulohaul*, swear, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *sóverhol*, *sóvlohol*. von S. *sóvel*.] See *sallah*.
942. *saus*, six, S1.; *suchira*, sixpence, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *sho*, *shov*. von S. *sob*.]
943. *sav*, laugh, W2.; *saving*, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *sav*, to laugh. von S. *sáva*.]
944. *sava*, seven, M2.
945. *sawnie*, bacon, M1.; *saini*, T. [See *O. E. D.* 'sawney' 3.]

946. *scadden*, herring, M2. [Gaelic *sgadan*.]
 947. *scaf*, hat, S1., S2., M1. [Mik. iii. 40 equates this with *stadi* and *σκιὰδι*.]
 948. *schochie*, *schoochie*. See *tshoki*.
 949. *sclat*, tea, C. See *slab* and *slaps*.
 950. *sclataich*, tea-feast, C.; *sclàtaich*, tea, Wn. See *sclat*.
 951. *scree*, write, C.; *screeve*, M2. [Eng. slang from *scribere* or Gaelic *sgriobh*.]
 952. *screeves*, trousers, C.; *screevers*, M1.
 953. *scribe*. See *skriv*.
 954. *scruf*, hat, bonnet, C., G.; *scroof*, M1., M2. See *scaf*.
 955. *scurushe*. See *shoshoi*.
 956. *se*, is, R. [Romani.]
 957. *seefer*, ass, cuddy, hound, S1., M1., M2.
 958. *selvings*, fish, C.
 959. *sgeamhas*, drink, C., M2., Wn.; *air a sgeamhas*, drunk, Wn.; *isgeamhas*, drunk person, C. [Shelta.]
 960. *shach*, *shachd*, seven, C. [Gaelic *seachd*.]
 961. *shach*, cabbage, kale, broth, soup, C., M2.; *shaucha*, S1., S2.; *shauch*, M1., O.; *shaugh*, Bd., L.; *shaf*, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *shok*. von S. *šach*.]
 962. *shaf*. See *shach*.
 963. *shaigh*. See *sy*.
 964. *shammel*, sword, S2.
 965. *shammel*, straw. See *stramel*.
 966. *shan*. See *tshon*.
 967. *shan*, steam, C.; *shan bero*, steamboat, C.
 968. *shan*, bad, S1., S2., Bd., L., C., M1., M2., W2., T.; angry, dirty, evil, W1., W2.; *shāhn*, L.; *shan chavi*, bad boy, C.; *shan davies*, bad day, S1.; *shan drom*, bad road, S1., S2.; *shan gadgés*, rude man, C.; *shan gaugie*, policeman, M2.; *shan gouré*, bad boy, Bd.; *shan goorie*, romp, M2.; *shan keir*, bad lodging-house, M1.; *shan lugné*, bad woman, Bd.; *shan mangs*, swearing, M1.; *shan manisi*, rude woman, C.; *shan mort*, bad wife, S1.; *shan rackli*, bad girl, C.; *shan trampers*, bad feet, C.; *shan winklered*, blind, M1. [See J. G. L. S., Old Series, iii. 253.]
 969. *shan*, little, W1., W2. [Romani. See J. G. L. S., New Series, iii. 212.]
 970. *shanas*, badness, trouble, W2.; *shannas*, M1.; *chanses*, W1.; *tshanses*, W2. [*shan* + Eng. suffix 'ness.']

971. *shanna*: *shanna haben*, without food, I am very hungry, Bd.,
L. [? *shan*; *na haben*, bad; no food.]
972. *shannas*. See *shoon*.
973. *shauch*, *shaucha*. See *shach*.
974. *shaw*. See *shay*.
975. *shay*, *shaw*, six, C. See *sy*.
976. *shayls*, boots, shoes, W1.
977. *shean*: *deasag shean*, a ragged, old, or dirty person, Wn.
[Wn. derives it from Gaelic *sean*, old.]
978. *sheelra*, cold, frost, S1., M1.; *sheelra davies*, cold or frosty
day, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *shil*, adj. *shilino*. von S. *šil*,
adj. *šilelo*.]
979. *sheepers*, scissors, M2. [? Corruption of 'sneepers,' 'snippers.']
980. *shéro*, head, W2.; *sherro*, S1., S2.; *shir*, S1.; *shero*, Bd.;
sheero, *sheeri*, L.; *sheora*, head, end, C.; *bing lay your*
shero, devil lay your head, Bd.; that *goury* has a *barra*
sheery, that boy has a fine head of hair, L. [Romani. S.
and C. *shéro*. von S. *šéro*.]
981. *shinder*, sun, C. [? Eng. 'shiner.']
982. *shir*. See *shéro*.
983. *shohe*. See *tshoki*.
984. *shoon*, to hear, L.; *shannas*, listen [correct form of 1st plur.
imperat.], M1. [Romani. S. and C. *shoon*. von S. *šunáva*.]
985. *shóshoi*, rabbit, hare, W2.; *scwushè*, Bd.; *swishy*, L., M1.;
scwushe, L.; *swushie*, M. 342; *swúshi*, *wúshi*, W2.;
swishi, T. [Romani. S. and C. *shoshó*, *shóshi*. von S.
šošoi.]
986. *shóvi*, shop, W2.; *chovy*, Bd.; *chovie*, M2.; *chovey*, M. xxiii
(f.n.). [Hotten p. 117: *chovey*.]
987. *shriki*. See *smiki*.
988. *shukar*, good, grand, great, beautiful, M1.; *shúkar*, Gr., *sicuar*,
sugar, C.; *sucar*, M2.; *shuker*, M1., M. 445, F.; *shukar castie*,
good stick, M1.; *shukar davies*, good day, sunshiny-day,
M1.; *shuker mas*, fat meat, M. xviii (f.n.); *shuker rattie*,
moonlight night, M1.; clear moonlight night, F.; *sugar*
shauchi, good coat, C. [Romani. S. and C. *shooker*, adv.
'nicely.' von S. *šuker*.]
989. *shunen*, *schunan*, hearing, Bd. [Lit. *shooning*.] See *shoon*.
990. *sicuar*. See *shukar*.
991. *sieucar*, jars, C.
992. *sigh*. See *sy*.

993. *sik*, taste, Bd., L. [Not in Anglo-Romani. See Pott, ii. 226. Probably *sig* 'quickly,' through confusion of 'haste' and 'taste.']
994. *sindin*, ear, C. [? From *shoon*.]
995. *size*. See *sy*.
996. *sjair*, to ease nature, S2. See *jair*.
997. *skammen*, chair, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *skámin*. von S. *stamin*.]
998. *skew*, pan, platter, S2., M1.; *skews*, mugs, plates of earthenware, platters, S1., Bd., G. [Harman: *skew*, a cuppe.]
999. *skillygows*, tinkler, M1., M. xxiii (*f.n.*).
1000. *skirmush*, shirt, G. See *kirmush*.
1001. *skran*, bread, T.
1002. *skrív*, cart, W2.; *scribe*, C.; *scrieve*, W1.; *bára skrív*, carriage, wagon, W2.; *jír skrív*, muck-cart, W2.
1003. *skryding*, crying, W2.; *sereving* [misprint for *screving*], W1.
1004. *slab*, tea, Bd., C., M2., W2. See *sclat* and *slaps*.
1005. *slam*. See *slum*.
1006. *slang*, park, field, Bd., L., M1., W1., W2.; *slangs*, W1.; *faizim* oot o' the *slang*, hay, M. xv (*f.n.*). [See O. E. D. 'slang,' Sb.2.]
1007. *slang*: *slang* the *gry*, put the horse into the field, M. xiii (*f.n.*) [Cf. the similar use of *puv*.]
1008. *slangs*, licence, M1., W1., W2.; big *slangs*, cart licence, M1.; wee *slangs*, pedlar's licence, M1.; *slang*, T. [Cf. Leland: *Eng. Gs.*, p. 168.]
1009. *slàp*, tea, Gr.; *slaps*, S1.; *slops*, T. [Eng. 'slops.'] See *slab* and *sclat*.
1010. *sloof*, sheep, S1. [? Back-slang, *scil.* silly sheep.]
1011. *slum*, sleep, Bd.; *slump*, M1.; *slam*, W1.; *slùm* (also 'asleep'), W2. [See O. E. D. 'sloom.']
1012. *slums*, umbrella, M1.
1013. *smeish*, shirt, M2.; *smish*, *smush*, C. [Harman, p. xxiii *mesh*. Perhaps a corruption of 'chemise.'] Cf. *kirmush* and *skirmush*.
1014. *smiki*, *shriki*, smoke, C. [Scots 'smeiky,' i.e. 'smokey.']
1015. *smout*, *smowt*, sword, O. [Mr. James Drever suggests that this word is from the obsolete *smiða*, to forge, with which 'smith' and 'smooth' are connected, but perhaps it is *smùt*, copper, used by metonymy.]

1016. *smout*, butter, S1., Bd., L., C., M1., M2., G.; *smoot*, O.
[? The same as *smùt* from resemblance in colour.]
1017. *smug*, kiss, M1., O. [? From 'smug' vb. b. O. E. D.]
1018. *smush*. See *smeish*.
1019. *smùt*, copper (metal), W2.; *smout*, W1. [See O. E. D. 'smut.']
1020. *sneepa*, white, snow, S1., M1.; *sneepa davies*, snowy or white day, S1., M1. [Cf. Gaelic *sneachd*.]
1021. *sneeps*, turnips, M2., C.; *sneaps*, C. [? Disguised form of Scots 'neeps.']
1022. *snips*, shears, M1.; *snypers*, S1.; *snypes*, M1. [Eng. colloquial and slang.]
1023. *soister*. See *sother*.
1024. *sonnakie*, gold, S1.; *sonnakie vanister*, gold ring, S1.; *son-nakei fanni*, golden aureole, M3. [Romani. S. and C. *sobnakei*. von S. *songkai*.]
1025. *soster*, tongs, L. See *saster*.
1026. *sother*, soulder, M1.; *soister*, M2. [Variant pronunciation of Eng. 'solder' and confusion with Romani *saster*.]
1027. *sothern*, Protestant, M1. [Eng. 'Southern.']
1028. *spirl*, match, C.; *matches*, M2.; *spirli*, C.; *spirlie*, M2. [Eng. 'spill.']
1029. *spirnies*, matches, M1.; *spurnies*, M2. [Variant of No. 1028.]
1030. *spracham*, *sprachram*, beggar, C.; *spragin'*, W2; *sprachin manishie*, beggar, M2. [Can this be a survival of *sprecan*, the older form of 'speak' ?]
1031. *sprachers*, tramp, M1.
1032. *sprafer*, beggar, tramp, W2.; *sprafin' gùri*, beggar man, W2.; *sprafin' monishi*, beggar woman, W2.
1033. *spragin'*, begging, W2. See *spracham*.
1034. *spredam*, butter, T. [Common slang from Eng. 'spread.']
1035. *spuds*, potatoes, C., M2. [Common slang. See B. and L., ii. 281.]
1036. *spurnies*. See *spirnies*.
1037. *sputigi*, coach, C. [? By metathesis from *postigie*.]
1038. *stadge*, hat, Bw. [Romani. S. and C. *stádi*. von S. *štadin*.]
1039. *stall*, stop, ordain, wait, M1., O.; *stawl*, W2.; *stál*, T.; *stall yer mangan*, hold your tongue, M1., M. 447; *stall yer weezan*, M. 447; *stall yer whuddin*, M1., M. 447; *stawl your wilden*, W2.; *stallin'*, standing, M. xiv (f.n.); *libbitch stallin*, lodgings, M1. [Harman: *stall*, to make or ordain.]

1040. *stamps*, boots, T. [B.E. *stampers*, shoes.]
1041. *stárdi*, prison, jail, W2.; *staurdie*, S1., S2., M1.; *stardé*, Bd.; *stardie*, L. p. 150; *starded*, apprehended, W2. [Romani. S. and C. '*stardi*. Pasp. *astardi*.]
1042. *staripen*, prison, W2. [Romani. S. and C. '*stariben*. von S. *štargpen*.]
1043. *stawli*, stable, W2. [Eng. 'stall.']
1044. *stif*, licence, W2., T.; *stiff*, M1. [Common slang. Contraction of 'certificate.']
1045. *stiga*, stack, W2. See *stogie*.
1046. *stioma*, bagpipe, C.; *stiomagara*, C.; *stiumer*, M2. [Shelta. See J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 276.]
1047. *stiomara*, piper, C. [Shelta. See J. G. L. S., Old Series, ii. 208 (f.n.), and New Series, i. 276.]
1048. *stiumer*. See *stioma*.
1049. *stogi*, stack, C.; *stogie*, M2.; *stiga*, W2. [Harriott has *stagus*, rick. Pott. ii. 246.]
1050. *stoorie*. See *tshdri*.
1051. *stramel*, straw, S1., T.; *strammul*, Bd.; *strammel*, M1., M2., M. 444, O.; *shammel*, W1.; *strámel*, W2.; *stramil*, G.; *stramal*, standing corn, straw, C. [Harman: *strommell*, *strawe*. Lat. *stramen*.]
1052. *strods*, boots, shoes, C., M1., M2., M. 447, O., G.; *strod gribber*, shoemaker, M1.
1053. *suchira*, sixpence, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *shaiháuri*, *shookhauri*.] See *shaw* and *hira*.
1054. *suetimie*. See *sweetnie*.
1055. *swilean*, child, C.; *suillean*, baby, Wn.; *suilin*, C. [Shelta.]
1056. *sung*, smell, Bd., L. [Romani. S. and C. *soong* (vb.), *soón-gimus* (sb.). von S. *sung* (sb.).]
1057. *sung*, hearing, Bd., L. [Romani. See No. 984.]
1058. *swag*, sack, S2.; pocket, M1. [See B. and L., ii. 310.]
1059. *swap*, exchanged, W1. [Common slang.]
1060. *sweetening*, sugar, M1.; *switening*, W2. [Eng. 'sweetning.']
1061. *sweetnams*, sugar, Gr.; *switam*, T. [From Eng. 'sweet.']
1062. *sweetnie*, sugar, M2.; *sweetni*, C.; *suetimie*, G. [From Eng. 'sweet.']
1063. *sweshes*, besoms, Bd.; *swisher*, brush, T. [Eng. 'switches.']
1064. *swinger*, coat, M1., W1., W2. [Eng. Cf. *dreeper*, *hinger*.]
1065. *swisher*. See *sweshes*.
1066. *swishi*, *swishy*. See *shoshoi*.

1067. *swrushi*, *swrushie*. See *shoshoi*.
1068. *sy*, six, sixpence, M1., O.; *shaigh*, S1.; *shay*, *shaw*, C.; *shaya*, M2.; *sigh*, M1., M2., W1.; *size*, S2.; *sai*, W2., T. [*Shaw* is probably Romani, but the other forms are from Gaelic *sè*, *sia*.]
1069. *sy-boord*, sixpence, S1. See *sy* and *boord*.
1070. *syet*, yes, M1., M2., M. 444, F. [See note to No. 272.]
1071. *tachi*, shoes, boots, clogs [mistranslated 'boat' by C.], C.; *tatches*, Bd.; *thatches*, L., M1.; *takis*, C.; *tatshies*, O. See *tégi* and *téhi*.
1072. *takis*. See *tachi*.
1073. *tam*, devil, M1., M. xii (*f.n.*), M. 446. [Cont. Romani *tam*, darkness. S. and C. *támlo*, dark. von S. *tamlo*.]
1074. *tanner*, sixpence, Gr. [Common slang. See *O. E. D.*]
1075. *taste*, tea, M1.
1076. *tatches*, *tatshies*. See *tachi*.
1077. *tatters*, watch, C. See *tattler*.
1078. *tattler*, clock, watch, M1.; *tartler*, M1. [Intro. to Harman, p. xxiii *tattle*; Haggart: *tatler*, a watch or 'scout.' Eng. onomatopœic.]
1079. *tch*. See *tsh*.
1080. *teeyakas*, boots, shoes, S1., S2.; *teyakas*, M. 447; *tiyekas*, M. 447. See *tachi*, *tégi*, and *téhi*. [Welsh-Romani *tiyoŋa*, Anglo-Romani *chokka*.]
1081. *tégi*, boot, shoe, W2.; *tighchees*, M. 447; *tégi gûri*, shoemaker, W2. See *tachi*, *teeyakas*, and *téhi*.
1082. *téhi*, boot, shoe, W2.; *taehis*, L., M1., M. 447; *teahis*, M2. [Romani. Nos. 1071, 1080-82 seem all to be corruptions of Romani *triak*. See Miklosich, *Mundarten*, viii. 86.]
1083. *tellum*, spoon, M1.; *tilam*, *tulum*, *tilem*, C.; *tillum*, M1., M2.
1084. *teori*, fire, C.; *tur*, Wn. [Shelta. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 214, *thirra*.]
1085. *tespan*, sugar, O.
1086. *test*, head, S1., C., M1., M. 444, O., T.; *tes*, G.; *tested*, headed, M. xv (*f.n.*). [Old Slang from Old French.]
1087. *teyakas*. See *teeyakas*.
1088. *thadi*, talk, M. 184; *stall yer thadian*, stop your talk, M. 185. [Shelta *thari*. See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 211.]
1089. *thatches*. See *tachi*.
1090. *theekie*, policeman, M2.
1091. *theovi*, shop, C. See *shóvi*.

1092. *thtk*, exchange, W2.; *theak*, exchanged, W1. See *fik*.
1093. *thouin*, soap, Bd. [Romani. Lit. 'washing.' S. and C. *tov*. von S. *thóvava*.]
1094. *thówi*, tobacco, W2.; *thoui*, *thowi*, C.; *thowie*, M2.; *thúvi*, W2.; *thówi tshùkli*, tobacco-pipe, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *túvlo*. von S. *thúb*, smoke.] See No. 300.
1095. *thraw*, key, M1. [Scots form of Eng. 'throw' with the sense of 'turning, twisting.']
1096. *thrums*, threepence, M1.; *duce thrums*, two threepenny bits, M1. [Hotten, p. 321.]
1097. *thud*, milk, Bd., C., W2.; *thood*, S1., S2., M1.; *thūd*, *tood*, L.; *tud*, *túd*, W2.; *bára tud*, cream, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *tood*. von S. *thud*.]
1098. *tickler*, clock, watch, M2.; *teckler*, M1., O.; *tiker*, T. [Eng. onomatopœic.]
1099. *tid*, tea, C. See *wid*.
1100. *tiger*, bacon, M1. [See B. and L., ii. 339.]
1101. *tighchees*. See *tégi*.
1102. *tiker*. See *tickler*.
1103. *tikni*, small, little, thin, young, W2.; *tiknè*, Bd.; *tikne*, L.; *chico*, M2.; *tikni tshavá*, baby, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *tikno*. von S. *tikno*.]
1104. *tior*, *tiuri*, *tivi*, three, C.
1105. *tirrehi*, boots, shoes, Bw., W1.; *tirrehai*, Bw. [Romani. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 20, *teraxa*.] See *téhi*.
1106. *tiuri*. See *tior*.
1107. *tivi*. See *tior*.
1108. *tober*, road, M1. [See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 211, 217.]
1109. *tog*, coat, petticoat, C., M1., M2., O.; *tug*, C.; *barrie tog*, *shuker tog*, great coat, M. xi (f.n.). [Common slang. From Lat. *toga*.] Cf. *tugi* and *tyug*.
1110. *toggerie*, clothes, clothing, blankets, M1., M2., F.; *tugari*, C.; inside *toggerie*, petticoat, M1. [Derivative of *tog*.]
1111. *toim*, *taim*, white, Wn., C.; *èian toim*, a white house, or cottage, Wn. [Shelta. Irish Tinker *thom*, big, great.]
1112. *tomas*, clog, W2.; *thomases*, clogs, W1.; *tomases*, T.
1113. *tomli*, *tomni*, blind, W2.; *tomley*, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *tamlo*, dark. von S. *tamlo*.]
1114. *tor*, four, S1. [Apocopated form of *stor*. Romani. S. and C. *stor*. von S. *štdr*.]

1115. *trampers*, feet, M1.; *shan trampers*, [horse's] bad feet, M. xiv (*f.n.*); *tramplered*, footed, M. ix (*f.n.*). [From Eng. vb. 'tramp.']
1116. *trash*, afraid, M1.; afraid, astonished, sorry, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *atrash*. von S. *trašeno*.]
1117. *trashful*, fearful, awful, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *tráshful*. The suffix 'ful' is from Eng. 'fearful.']
1118. *treepie*, pot lid, S2.
1119. *tri*, three, C.; *try*, threepence, M2. [Gaelic *tri*.]
1120. *trin*, three, S1.; *trinchindies*, three shillings, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *trin*. von S. *trin*.]
1121. *truthther*, trousers, M2. [Gaelic *triubhas*.]
1122. *tshakas*, teeth, W2.; *chatters*, S1.; *chackers*, face, O. [Eng. 'the chattering things.']
1123. *tshar*, *tshaw*, grass, hay, W2.; *tchar*, green clover, Bd.; *char*, *chor*, L.; *chār*, meadow, T. [Romani. S. and C. *chor*. von S. *čár*.]
1124. *tshat*, thing, anything. ('Generic word meaning "bell, dyke, hedge, key, knocker, pot, screen,"' M.), W2.; *chit*, C.; *chaet*, M1., M. 444; *chīt*, T.; *bashing tshat*, chair, W2.; *been chaet*, brooch, M2.; *bin-chit*, C.; *chaet-filches*, tongs, M1.; *chaet* of the *belliment*, screen over the tent-door, M3., M xii (*f.n.*); *cheeteromanie*, dram of whiskey, S1.; *gámi tshat*, worthless thing, W2.; *glimmer chaets*, tongs, M1.; *hotchets*, leek, C., onions, M2.; *neowinchaet*, *nyowinchaet*, cat, M1., M2.; *líríkan tshat*, lantern, match, W2. [Harman: *chete*; used in many combinations, pp. 82-3.]
1125. *tshavo*, *tshavi*, *tshavá*, boy, girl, son, child, W2.; *chavo*, S2., R., C., M1., M. 446; *chauvie*, S1., M1., M. 446; *chavie*, Bd., M. 446; *chav*, *chava*, C.; *chavey*, M2., M. 446; *chávi*, MR.; *chavi*, *chaver*, T.; *choar a chauvie*, rob that person, S1.; *chavie's naave*, child's name, Bd. Plur.: *chauvies*, children, S1., S2., M1.; *shavies*, *chavies*, Bd.; *chauvies wautheriz*, children's bedclothes, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *chavo* m., *chavi* f. von S. *čávo*.]
1126. [*tshib*], tongue: *chee*, S1.; *tchib*, Bd.; *tschib*, L. [Romani. S. and C. *chiv*. von S. *čib*.]
1127. [*tshíti*], kettle-prop: *chitties*, Gr., M1.; *cheeties*, M1.; *chittie bawks*, M1.; *tshíti bawks*, W2. [Romani. According to MacRitchie: *Gs. of India*, p. 234, Groome equated this word with *chiti*, a crowbar, in Dr. Mitra's Bengali list.]

1128. *tshîtshî*, no, nothing, W2.; *chee chee*, silence, hold your tongue, S1.; be quiet, no more, L.; *chi chi* had your *Mangang*, stop bad language, W1. [lit. no, no, hold (stop) your talking]. [Romani. S. and C. *chi*, *chîchi*. von S. *çi*.]
1129. *tshiv*, put, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *chiv*. von S. *čivdva*.]
1130. *tshoki*, coat, W2.; *shucha*, S1., S2.; *shohe*, Bd.; *schochie*, L.; *shauchi*, C.; *shuha*, S1., M1.; *schoochie*, M1.; *shokie*, M. 438; *choca*, W1.; *shuch-hamie*, waistcoat, S1.; *sugar shauchi*, good coat, C. [Romani. S. and C. *chóxo*. von S. *cocha*.]
1131. [*tshon*], moon: *cam*, S1.; *cham*, S1.; *shan*, Bd., L. [Romani. S. and C. *shoon*, *choom*. von S. *čon*.]
1132. *tshùkli*, pipe, smoke, smoking, W2.; *chutli*, *tchutli*, L.; *chitshi*, *chutshi*, *tutsi*, C.; *tchitlow*, M1.; *chitshie*, *chutshie*, *tutchie*, *tutsie*, M2.; *tutchi*, G. [Romani. Same word as *chupnie*, a whip. See *J. G. L. S.*, v. 12.]
1133. *tshûm*, to kiss, W2.; *chooma*, L.; *chooman*, kissing, Bd. [Romani. S. and C. *choóma*. von S. *čuměvāva*.]
1134. *tshûr*, thief, W2.; *chor*, S1., S2., L., M1., M2.; *tchor*, Bd.; *choar*, M1., M2., O.; *chûr*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *chor*. von S. *čór*.]
1135. *tshûr*, to rob, steal, take, W2.; *choar*, S1., S2., M1., M. 446; *tchorran*, Bd.; *chor*, M1.; *choor*, W1.; *chûr*, T.; *choar a chauvie*, rob that person, S1.; *choar a gaugie*, steal from that man, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *chor*. von S. *čórāva*.]
1136. *tshûri*, knife, W2.; *chowrie*, S1.; *chourie*, bayonet-knife, S1., S2.; *chourè*, Bd.; *churi*, Bw.; *choori*, L.; *chûri*, Gr.; *churie*, M1., W1.; *choorie*, M1., M2.; *stoorie*, O.; *chûri*, T. [Used by Scott in *Heart of Midlothian* and *Fortunes of Nigel*. See Groome in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 105. Romani. S. and C. *choori*. von S. *čuri*.]
1137. *tud*. See *thūd*.
1138. *tugel*. See *jukeł*.
1139. *tugi*, jacket, C.; *tùgis*, clothing, garments, W2.; *bāra tùgis*, blankets. See *tog* and *tyug*.
1140. *tulo*, fat. Perhaps to be recorded for Scoto-Romani in 1540. [See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 162.]
1141. *tunnock*, eggs, M2.
1142. *tur*. See *teori*.

1143. *turan*, loaf, Wn. [Shelta. Wn. suggests that this word is a derivative of *tur* 'fire,' and means 'an oat-cake baked at the fire'; but cf. Irish Tinker *dorra*, *durra*, from Gael. *aran*.]
1144. *tut*, bread, C.
1145. *tutchie*, *tutchi*, *tutsie*, *tutsi*. See *tshùkli*.
1146. *tuttoo*, heat, Bd.; hot, L. [Romani. S. and C. *tátto*, warm, hot. von S. *tato*.]
1147. *tye*, house, M2. [Gaelic *tigh*.]
1148. *tyug*, coat, M1. [Shelta. Haggart: *tuig*, a coat, also clothes; Sampson: *Intro. to M.*, p. xv.] See also *tog* and *tug*.
1149. *usel*. See *aizel*.
1150. *utliers*, stones, C. See *outliers*.
1151. *úza*, door, W2. [A broken-down form of *wuther*, which see.]
1152. *vallin*, bottle, M1. [Romani. S. and C. *válin*. von S. *válin*.]
1153. *vanister*, ring, S1.; *sonnakie vanister*, gold ring, S1. [Romani. S. and C. *vóngus*, *vóngusti*, *vóngushi*. von S. *gusterin*.]
1154. *vardo*, cart, W1. [Romani. S. and C. *vardo*. von S. *vordin*.]
1155. *varro*, meal, flour, Bd., L., M1., O.; *varry*, L.; *varrie*, M2. [Romani. S. and C. *váro*. von S. *var*.]
1156. *vast*, hand, S1., S2., M1.; *vastie*, Bd.; *vasti*, L., W2.; *vasta*, W2. [Romani. S. and C. *vast*, *vasti*. von S. *vast*.]
1157. *vasti*, shirt, C.
1158. *vaysh*, wood, M2.; *veis*, tree, C. See *besk*.
1159. *veis*. See *vaysh*.
1160. *veist*, meal, C.
1161. *vile*, town, village, S1., S2., M1., M2.; *baurie vile*, large village, S1., M1. [Cant from Fr. *ville*.]
1162. *vree*. See *avri*.
1163. *vria*, policeman, M2.
1164. *wafen*, dog, Bd. See *yaffin*.
1165. *waglin*, soldier, M1.
1166. *wallop*, calf, C. [? Eng. vb. 'wallop.']
1167. *wanner*, to sell, M1.; *wannered*, sold, M. 207.
1168. *wapsie*, prostitute, M1. [Harman: p. xix *wap*.]
1169. *watches*, beat [*i.e.* district in which a family travels], M. ix (*f.n.*); beyond (land beyond), C.; England, Highlands, or America, land beyond, M. 185; country, another country, M. 444, 447; *Dal watches*, Ireland, M. 185; *t'ither watches*, across the sea, F. [Eng., or perhaps Romani *wolš*, foreign.]

1170. *wattle*, camp, tent, C., M2., M. 447; *wotùl*, W2.; *wattles*, tents, F. ['Really a rod with which a tent is made. English "wattle,"' W2.]
1171. *wautheries*, bedclothes, M1.; *wutheres*, T.; *chauvies wautheriz*, children's bedclothes, S1. See *wuddrus*.
1172. *waxie*, waxcloth, M1. [From Eng. 'wax.']
1173. *weed*, tea, tea-pot, M1., M2.; *wid*, C.; *wìd*, T.; *wìd wash*, T.; *weed-blawkie*, tea-pot, M1. [Eng. Cf. the use of 'weed' for tobacco.] See *tid*.
1174. *weezan*, tongue: *stall yer weezan*, hold your tongue, M. 447. [See *whidden*, but cf. Eng. *weasand*, 'throat.']
1175. *whidden*: *whidden chaet*, church, M. 447; *whidden-kain*, M. 447. [Cant *whidding* 'talking.'] See *wìden*.
1176. *whin*. See *wing*.
1177. *whipers*, ears, G. [From Eng. 'wipe.']
1178. *whirli*, *whorlie*. See *hwùrli*.
1179. *wing*, penny, M1., M2., W2.; *wun*, M1., M2.; *whin*, T.; *duce wuns*, twopence, M1. [Harman: *wyn*, penny. See B. and L., ii. 404.]
1180. *winkler*, eye, window, M1., M2., G.; *winkli*, C.; *winklers*, *winklus*, eyes, C.; *winklers*, spectacles, M2., C.; eyes, M. 446; *shan winklers*, bad eyes, M. x (f.n.). [From Eng. 'wink.']
1181. *wipe*, napkin, shawl, handkerchief, neckerchief, plaid, Bd., C.; *wype*, M1., M2., O.; *waip*, T.; *wiper*, S1. [Cf. Haggart: *sleek wipes*, silk handkerchiefs. From Eng. vb. 'wipe.']
1182. *won*, withy, W2. [Eng. 'wand.']
1183. *wotùl*. See *wattle*.
1184. *wuddrus*, bed, M1., M2., F.; *watheras*, Bd.; *wautheriz*, S1.; *wutheres*, blankets, T.; *chauvies wautheriz*, children's bedclothes, S1.; *jaw vree wautheriz*, go away to your bed, S1.; *wautherie*, good bed, M. x. (f.n.). [Romani. S. and C. *wùdrus*. Pott, ii. 78; Mik. iii. 40.]
1185. *wìden*, speak, talk, W2.; *whidden chaet*, church, M. 447 [lit. 'talking thing']; *whidden-kain*, church [lit. 'talking house'], M. 447; *Dalwhuddin chaet*, chapel, M1. [lit. 'Irish-speaking thing']. [This word I derive from A.S. *cweþan* to say or speak, which in modern Eng. is 'quoth.' *Cw* of A.S. is *qu* of modern Eng., without change of sound; e.g. A.S. *cwēn*, Eng. *queen*. But in the dialects we have

the further change to *wh*. Thus 'queen' in some dialects is *ween*. So *cweþan* would give *whid*. *Whid*, 'a lie,' is found in Burns. Haggart: *whidding*, talking slang.] See *hwíden*.

1186. *wun*. See *wing*.
1187. *wúshi*. See *shoshoi*.
1188. *wuther*, door, S1.; *widera*, *wunera*, window, C.; *widdera*, window, M2.; *klissen* the wooder, shut the door, boy, M. 338. [Romani. S. and C. wooder. von S. *vúðer*.]
1189. *wutheres*. See *wautheries*.
1190. *yack*, watch, M1. [From Romani. S. and C. *yak*, eye. von S. *jak*.]
1191. *yack Amed*. See *akhom*.
1192. *yackles*, teeth, O. [Local dialect word from Old Norse *jazl*.]
1193. *yaffin*, dog, hound, C., M. 446; *wafen*, Bd. [Onomatopœic.]
1194. *yag*, coal, fire, firewood, Bd., C., M1., M2., O., W1., W2.; *yág*, T.; *yak*, S1., S2.; *yog*, Bw., L. [Romani. S. and C. *yog*, fire. von S. *ják*.]
1195. *yagengro*, gun, Bw. [Romani. S. and C. *yogéngri*.]
1196. *yagger*, collier, S2., M1.; *yaggers*, colliers, S1.; *yagers*, W2. [Romani *yag* 'fire' + Eng. agent suffix *er*.]
1197. *yag-ingrimis*, fire-irons, S2. [Romani. *-ingrimis* possibly is a corruption of the gen. pl. inflexion *-engro*.]
1198. *yaik*, one, S1., M1., M2. [Romani. S. and C. *yek*. von S. *jek*.]
1199. *yaik*. Generic word, M1., M2. M. gives meanings 'bell, bookcase, chair, desk, handcuff, key, knocker, wand, whip, window.' [Romani. *yek*, one.]
1200. *yak*. See *yag*.
1201. *yak*, eye, S1., S2., L., M1., W2.; *yack*, Bd., W1.; *yak*, face, M1.; *yaka*, eyes, S1., S2.; *yaks*, M. 446; *yakas*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *yok*. von S. *ják*.]
1202. *yakam'd*. See *akhom*.
1203. *yanus*. See *yero*.
1204. *yaro*, egg, Bd.; *yáro*, W2.; *yarro*, W1.; *yanus*, *yaunas*, *yearris*, eggs, C.; *yarras*, M1., M. 447; *yarrows*, M1.; *yerrras*, M. 447, M2., O.; *yaras*, T. [Romani. S. and C. *yóro*, *yóri*. von S. *járo*.]
1205. *yaunus*. See *yaro*.
1206. *yawk*. See *yoop*.

1207. *yearris*. See *yaro*.
 1208. *yelper*, hound, dog, M2., M. 446. [Cf. Haggart: *yelpers*, wild beasts. Eng. onomatopœic.]
 1209. *yennam*. See *yerrim*.
 1210. *yerder*. See *yergan*.
 1211. *yergan*, tin, R., M1., M2., M. 445, 447, O.; *yargin*, *yerder*, C.; *yerger*, iron, C.; *yergin*, M1.
 1212. *yerm*. See *yerrim*.
 1213. *yerrachan*, Irish, M1.; *yarikans*, Irishmen, W2.; *yerrachan connachman*, Irishman, M. 446. [Irish *Eireannak* (pron. *Aeranach*).]
 1214. *yerrim*, milk, blood, M1., M2., O.; *yerram*, *yennam*, C.; *yerrin*, M1.; *yerm*, G.; *yerum*, T.; *rodgered yerrim*, sour milk, M2. [Harman: *yaram*, milk. Eng. dialectal.]
 1215. *yoick*. See *yoop*.
 1216. *yog*. See *yag*.
 1217. *yoop*, five shillings, crown, M1.; *yockora*, M1.; *yoick*, M1.; *yowp*, M1., M2.; *yawk*, W2.
 1218. *yucal*. See *jukel*.
 1219. *zaster*. See *saster*.

ADDENDA

1220. *chico*. See *tikni*.
 1221. *hamie*: *shuch-hamie*, waistcoat, S1.
 1222. [*mang*, a word]: *shan mangs*, swearing, M1. [Romani. See No. 664.]
 1223. *missler*: *needie missler*, tramp, M. 447. [Shelta. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 172, and Old Series, ii. 217.]
 1224. *shagedebach*, an egg, G.
 1225. *shukarness*, goodness, M1. [Romani *shukar*, and Eng. suf. *ness*.]
 1226. *sister*, aunt, M1. [Cf. Shelta, *bīūer*, 'wife,' from Gael. *piuthair*, 'sister.']
 1227. *wadler*, a duke. Lucas in *Petty Romany*, p. 590. [L. derives this word from Waywode. *Credat Judæus*.]

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| victuals, 476. | wheat, 394, 814. | write (to), 451, 951. |
| village, 381, 1161. | whins, 563. | yes, 1070. |
| wagon, 1002. | whip, 196, 1199. | young, 1103. |
| waistcoat, 1130. | whiskey, 840, 911. | youth (tall, strong), 234. |
| wait (to), 1039. | white, 1020, 1111. | zinc, 627. |

NOTES AND QUERIES

1.—LOOT FROM FLANDERS

Six months ago Kemmel must have been one of the pleasantest country health-resorts in Western Flanders, and its ornate château with elaborate moats, gardens, and avenues, its picturesque church surrounded by a remarkable screen of artificially trained trees, and its bandstand, still testify to the past prosperity of the place. Beside these, the shell-shattered houses, with gaping doorways void of doors, windows of broken glass through which the winter gales howl dismally, and gaunt roof-timbers from which most of the red tiles have been roughly hurled, bring lamentable evidence of the state of war that now obtains. In some of the less injured dwellings the bareness of the interiors may indicate that the tenants had leisure to collect and remove their property—or it may indicate looting. In others a woeful mixture of débris and furniture proves that the inhabitants were obliged to depart in hot haste and panic, leaving their valuables behind them. Often a child's toy, a girl's bundle of picture-postcards, a lace curtain fluttering foolishly in a room one wall of which has fallen, the stock-in-trade of a shop, or the ledgers of an office, present in the midst of the desolation an aspect of bitter tragedy. And in the muddy roads and fields which surround the village, great conical holes, fifteen or twenty feet in diameter and filled with water, will long remain to prove the violence of the assault which brought ruin to this charming place.

At the end of the village, less than a mile from the German lines, is a row of small houses, in the smallest of which I am spending four days as part of my regiment's reserve. Shells pass frequently overhead in both directions, the hum of aeroplanes is often heard, and the crackling noise of rifle-fire reaches me from the trenches. We are within sight of the enemy, and in consequence dare seldom venture forth by daylight or allow a light to shine through a cracked shutter after dark. The cottage was rather comfortless when I took possession of it, although the soldiers who had previously used it as a billet had left a brazier of brightly

burning coke. It is now more habitable, for I have borrowed, from other unoccupied houses, an armchair, some cooking utensils, and a candlestick. My 'batman' has lighted the stove, and we have just dined luxuriously on mulligatawny soup, bread and cheese.

The profession of the original occupant of the house is difficult to determine, all the implements of his trade having been taken away or hidden. It was a pleasant surprise to find that the garret contained a large collection of books, many hundreds of them, almost all in Flemish, and many dating from the middle of the seventeenth century. Each is numbered and contains the signature 'Ch. Cappoen, te Locre,' and I thought at first that I was the uninvited guest of some humble scholar who was writing the history of Flemish literature, living meanwhile in poverty in order that he might be able to buy the necessary books. I am told, however, that the real tenant of the house is Mr. Charles Cappoen's son, a cobbler; and that Charles himself kept a small circulating library, lending out his books at a sou a week. Nevertheless, I cannot but think that many of the volumes must have had little interest, even at this very moderate charge, for visitors at a summer resort, and represent rather Mr. Cappoen's own enlightened taste than theirs. Among these is a magnificent Flemish chronicle in perfect condition: a huge folio with wide margins, printed in black letter and illustrated liberally with copperplates struck on the same pages as the text. The title reads:—

JOH. LODEW. GOTTFRIEDS | HISTORISCHE | KRONYCK ; | *Vervattende een* | Nauw-
keurige en volkomene Beschrijvingh der aldergedenkwaerdigste Geschiedenissen |
des Weerelds, van den aenvangh der Scheppingh tot op't Jaer Christi 1576. |
[4 lines omitted] | DOOR | S. DE VRIES. | [7 lines omitted] [Cut symbolizing
'Studio et Vigilantia.'] | Te LEYDEN | [rule] | By PIETER vander Aa, Boeckver-
koper. M DC XCVIII. |

As I turned the leaves I was suddenly surprised and delighted to see a reproduction of Callot's print of Gypsies cooking. It was at the foot of columns 1353-4, signature Rrrr 1, recto, and accompanied a short reference to the arrival of the Roms in Europe. I cannot read it all. I suppose it is of no importance—yet the circumstances under which I found it, give it, for me at least, the fictitious value of the 'souvenirs' which soldiers, with infinite labour, bring home from the war. In the margin is printed:—

Eerste aankoomft der foo genoemde
Heydenen, of Heyens, in Duytschland.

The text itself runs:—

Op't jaer 1418, stellen de Historien, dat d'eerstmael in Duytschland gesien
wierden de Landlopers en Land-dieben / welckemen Heydenen, of door verbafteringh
Heyens noemd. Dat door een Gespuys dit is / watse boorgren van d'oorsaek
haers omswerbens / hare Bedriegeryen en Dieberyen / kanmen wijsloepigh
beschreiben vinden by Albertus Crantzius, en Sebastianus Munsterus. Dock
getuyghd allerweegen de daeghlijcsche erbarenheyt / wat door sijne [verso]
Lieden sy sijn. Derhalven is onnodigh / van haer verder te spreken.

R. A. SCOTT MACFIE.

11th January 1915.

2.—KAMÁMA, KAMÁVA, I OWE, AM IN DEBT

I have heard *kamáva* (never yet *kamáma*) used in the sense of 'owe' by the Christian nomad comb-making Gypsy horse-thieves of north-east Bulgaria, whose dialect may be considered as belonging to the Roumanian group. This meaning is

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well known to Roumanian dialects (Mik., v. 28 and vii. 71), but Paspatis did not record it. Pott (i. 355 and ii. 104) quotes it from the *Beitrag zur Rotwellschen Grammatik* (1755) and from Zippel, and with characteristic humour suggests that the original meaning of the expression may have been: 'I should *like* to pay you' (it being implied, 'I cannot'). It excited the curiosity of Ascoli (*Zigeunerisches*, p. 115), who calls it a 'sonderbare bedeutung,' and it occurs also in the Hungarian and English dialects. As a matter of fact it is a good example of the deep influence of modern Greek upon all European Romani dialects, being a translation of the idiom: *Δέν σου θέλω πλέον τίποτε*, 'I don't owe you anything more,' in which *θέλω* = *kamáva*.

B. GILLIAT-SMITH.

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began in 1888 and ended in 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several of the numbers, at the original cost of 5s. each.

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. VIII

YEAR 1914-15

No. 2

I.—O KÂLO RAI

*O KÂLÓ sas blajveno beng, mind ?
—'Chas o gájo 'r'i bárr, sovek'lás—
Chidás talē peskē goné ta mutsyá,
Ta o Resko hudár kurdás.*

*Giló sas mo Rai parl o Brani-paní,
Mursh na jukel keré n'achiló,
Teni jukli, kor'dí, bidantengi purí,
T' o bárryákero, bango puró.*

*Mi Ráni shunélas, talé 'viás,
'Rē komóra shingénsa ridí,
'Doi-kai Romano 'chelas, t'i kufa 'rē vas',
Shanedó sas sar yoi prekhí.*

*"Nai mandi kek pagerdi piri na roi
Na koro—chi tuki te kes ;
Te jesa palál k'i butyákri," khoch' oi,
"Lovína del' tut te piés."*

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G

"Kekar tachinē Raiā ojd na ken,
 Kana 'ven te dikén palá ;
 E butyengriénsa na jan te pién,
 Rakeréna kek trustal piryá.

"Siménsi shem, maia ta tu, ti kok'rt,
 Tē romésko dad, dad ke mai ;
 Peski palani romni sas rání, bárrí,
 'Lananí sas Romani chai.

"O tarnedēr chavo 'yas tan ta sá,
 Fetedēr mangi Kálē kedé ;
 Nai e Resti chi teni yek-dúi puvyá,
 Ta Kralis veshténdē shom mē.

"Tiro stifo-pal shom maia, mi chai,
 Tē navésko sheréngro shom ;
 Kek mistó kelas mangi te 'vav akái
 Teni 'máro ker páp'lē dikóm."

Aké dui dosta ta dosta penén,
 But rak'rimas jala maskál ;
 Pala sá, khoch'ov, "Kushko dives, mi pen,"
 Khoch'oi, "Kushki rat, mo pal."

'Kava Rai kistéla keré palál,
 'Já ridó, raikenó, bárró ;
 Tacho murshkeno rom sar o Romanichál,
 Chingerdé gonénsa, nai-ló.

"Sas yoi biroméskri sar vaver chaia
 Te kelén piranlé odói,
 Sar maia shom Kralis Káléndē sá,
 Kralisa ke-rát 'velas yoi."

Gájésti 'r'i bárr sas shilalo 'zi,
 —Shundásas but trustal Kálé,
 Chi na molas les 'jasavi puri gilí—
 Kaniá klizinélas apré.

DONALD MACALISTER.

THE GYPSY

O wisna he bauld for a tinkler loon ?

—Sim leant on his rake an' swore—

To fling a' his wallets an' bawdskins doon,
An' rap at the castle door.

Wi' my Lord awa' at the Corbie's Linn
There was man nor dog at hame,
Save a toothless bitch 'at was auld an' blin',
An' the gard'ner auld an' lame.

When my Lady heard she cam' doon the stair,
An' ben thro' the antlered ha',
Whaur, bonnet in hand, stood the Gypsy there
As raggit as she was braw.

'O I hinna kettles to clout,' she said,
'An' my spoons an' stoups are hale ;
But gin ye gang roon' to the kitchen-maid
She'll gie ye a waucht o' ale.'

'It's never the way o' the gentry, na,
When visitin' 'mang their frien's,
To drink wi' the maids in the servants' ha'
Or speak aboot stoups an' speens.

'An' we are mair sib than ye think,' quo' he,
'For his Lordship's father's mine ;
Tho' the second wife was o' high degree,
His first was a gypsy queyn.

'An' the younger son got the lands an' a',
But the Gypsies bettered me ;
He is only laird o' a fairm or twa,
I'm King o' the covin-tree.

'Sae I am guid-brither to you, my lass,
An' head o' the ancient name ;
An' it wouldna be richt for me to pass
Without cryin' in by hame.'

O a hantle then did the twasome say,
An' muckle passed them between ;
But at last 'twas 'Sister, a fair good day.'
'Guid-brither, a fair good e'en.'

My Lord comes hame fae the huntin' soon,
An' he's big, weel-faured, an' braw,
But he isna a man like the tinkler loon,
Wi' wallets an' rags an' a'.

'Gin she was as free as the maids I ken,
Dancin' bar'fit on the green,
As I am the King o' the Gypsy men
This nicht she would be my Queen.'

But the bluid ran thin in the gard'ner Sim
 —He'd heard o' the cairds afore,
 An' the auld romance had nae charms for him—
 He lockit the hen-hoose door.

From 'Hamewith,' by CHARLES MURRAY.

II.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 11. *Ī PŌRNĒ-PŌRIAKERĪ T'Ō MŪRENÉNGŌ JUKEL*

With Notes on the Etymologies of *Bār*, *Biván*, and *Pabái*

Ī PŌRNĒ-PŌRIAKERĪ T'Ō THE SQUIRREL AND THE *MŪRENÉNGŌ*¹ *JUKEL.* FOX.

*Bitā vlija talē*² *'rē Aṇitēra, tā dūi pālā jivénas odói. Ćorvané, ěorvané, ěorvané sas-lē: júnénas kek sō te ken.*

THERE was a little village down in England, and two brothers living there. They were as poor as poor could be; they knew not what to do.

Gilē te r'ōdén bütídkī, tā kek bütī šis l'aténas. P'ukadās yek ī vaveréskī: "Doi sī bitā pūri te jivéla talē 'koi aré bitā bārenéngō kēr. Jāsa 'mē 'doi. P'enéla 'meṇī ī pūri anī šī baḡt 'lan 'mendī." "Aua, jāsa," p'ukadās ō vavér.

They went to seek for work, but no work could they find. Said one to the other: 'There is a little old woman who lives down yonder in a small cave. Let us go thither. The old crone will tell us whether there is good fortune before us.' 'Yes, let us go,' replied the other.

'Vilē k'ō bitā kēr, tā kārde ī pūrt. Júnélas ī pūri te 'venas

They came to the little dwelling, and hallooed to the old

¹ *mūrenéngō*] Cp. *bārenéngō* in the second paragraph. In W. Romani several nouns ending in a consonant, as well as some terminating in a vowel, may form the gen. adj. pl. in *-enéngō*, *-enéngērō* beside the more regular *-engō*, *-engerō*, as though by reduplication of the oblique stem *-en*. More rarely we meet with this double form in the inflected acc., e.g. *šōkenén* 'people,' though never in the other obl. cases. Against the view that this *-en-en* arises from reduplication is the presence in our dialect of a similar epenthetic *-en-* in a few forms of the voc. pl., e.g. *beyendlē*!, *čaiendlē*!, *juvyendlē*!, where, as Mik. has shown (ix. 15 d), it is a euphonic insertion to obviate the hiatus. It seems probable, therefore, if not entirely certain, that the *-en-* of the gen. adj. and acc. has had a similar origin, especially as one occasionally hears such forms as *šelōša* beside *šelēša*, where *-ō-e* in the plural may have become *-ō-n-e* and finally *-en-e*, e.g. *bērenéngērō* 'sailor' < **bērō-n-engerō*.

² *talē*] To Welsh Gypsies Wales is the apex of the earth, any place in England being 'down' in some direction or other.

tā sō wōntsénas. 'Doi sas bōrō bār k'ō hudār. P'ukadās ī purī leŋī te tārden ō bār. Tārdilē ō bār. "Rigerén man avrtī tā ēivén man 'prē ō bār te bešā, tā p'ukavāva tumēŋī sōr." Sas ī purīd¹ kek mušā, kek herā, 'jō sas-lī biant.

woman. The old woman knew that they were coming and what they sought. There was a great stone before the door. The old woman bade them drag away the stone. They dragged away the stone. 'Carry me outside and set me on the stone, and I will tell you everything.' The old woman had neither arms nor legs, thus had she been from her birth.

"Šunén tumē dūi sō java mē te pēnd tumēŋī." Xōč' ī bī-mušēgerī² ī Jakéski: "Akē bita bār tukī!" Sas-lō kek bōredēr nā pošēra. "Riger 'kavā, tā mō tārde les avrtī ō diklō pos te 'vesa kī trin dromēndi."

'Hearken ye both to what I am about to say to you.' Then quoth the armless one to Jack: 'Here is a little stone for thee.' It was no bigger than a halfpenny. 'Keep this and do not take it out of the handkerchief until thou comest to three roads.'

Gilē ō dūi palā oprē ō drom. 'Vilē kī 'kala trin dromā. 'Čilē ō dūi, tā tārdiās ō Jak ō bār avrtī ō diklō. Dikās top lestī. Yek rig sas melant sār sōnakāi,³

The two brothers journeyed along the road. They came to these three roads. They both halted and Jack pulled the stone out of the handkerchief. He

¹ *purīd*] Contracted prep. case=*p'urīdī*. Cp. later the same somewhat rare inflected form regularly used as accusative.

² *bī-mušēgerī*] Cp. *bī-pirēgerī* in the last paragraph but two. These compounds with the prefix *bī-* (Skr. *vi-*), in the sense of 'without,' 'un-,' '-less,' seem to be falling into disuse, and are now generally discarded in favour of constructions with *tā kek* followed by a substantive, e.g. *ī kani tā kek pōri*, 'the hen without a tail,' for *ī bī-pōriki kani*, or simply *ī bī-pōrikeri*. It is clear, however, from the examples heard by me, that among the older members of the family of Wood, *bī-* is still a living particle. To the considerable number of words in which this prefix is embodied—e.g. *biav-* 'to wed,' Skr. *vivah*; *bikin-* 'to sell,' Skr. *vikri*; *bīlav-* 'to melt,' Skr. *vilāyaya*, caus. of *vili*; *bīster-* 'to forget,' Skr. *vismṛ*; *bey* 'devil,' Skr. *vyaṅga*; and, by metathesis of aspiration, *pīvli* 'widow,' Skr. *vidhavā*, Hind. *bidhvā* (through the forms **bhīdva*, **phīdva*, **phīlva*)—we should add *bīran* 'green,' 'fresh,' 'unripe,' 'raw,' a word for which no etymology has hitherto been propounded, but which is certainly derived from Skr. [*vi*]+*mlāna* 'faded,' 'withered'; in Hindi, with the same prefix, *vimlān* 'fresh,' 'pure,' 'unwithered,' 'free from decay.' For the change of Skr. *ml* to Prākṛ. *m*, *mm*, see Pischel (*Prāk. Gram.* § 296), and of this medial Indian *m* to Rom. *v*, see Pott, i. 92 β; Asc. *Zig.* 82, *Studj.* ii. 265 sqq.; Mik. ii. 3-4, ix. 32 (4c).

³ *sōnakāi*] Cp. elsewhere *sunakāi*, the same speaker often using both forms indiscriminately.

*tī vavēr rig sas kōlt sār
vavār.*

"*Sō sī 'men te kerās akāla
bārēsa ?*" *pučtās peskē palēstē.*
Sār kekār sas ō lav pēndilō,
šundās čomōnī te rakerēlas arē
leskō kand : "*Čuŋer tōp lestī tā*
učer les oprē ručō.¹ Te peṛ'l ō
bār pōšē tē pīrē tā sunakēskī rig
oprē, lē tačē-vastēskō drom ; tā
te peṛ'la talē ī kōlī rig oprē, lē
zeravē-vastēskō² drom."

Učerdās ō bār oprē ručō, tā
peṛdās kī leskē pīrē tā sunakēskī
rig oprē. P'ukadās ō Jak peskē
palēskī : "*Tū šan te les ō zeravō*
drom, lava maia ō tačō drom."

Akē dūī bešdē talē tā rakerdē
bita vaverkēnsa. "Java mē
'doi-kai java mē," *χōč'ō Jak.*
"Reper tut tū³ te 'ves akāi tōp
akāla trin dromā bēš tā divēs ;
tā te 'vesa tū 'lan mandī ač
akāi maŋī ; te 'vā mē akāi aŋlān
tutī 'čava maia tukī, te 'vava
jidō."

Gilē peŋī. Tatō lildī. Gyas
ō Jak mā pala mā. Siš dik-
ēlas kek kēr, tā rātī 'vīdās. P'ir-
dās pes sār ī rat, pōs te 'vīdās
'saṛla. Akē šunēla jukeld te

looked at it. One side was
yellow as gold and the other side
black as coal.

'What are we to do with
this stone?' he asked of his
brother. No sooner was the
word uttered than he heard
something speaking in his ear :
'Spit upon it and toss it high in
the air. If the stone fall at thy
feet with the golden side upper-
most, take the road on thy right
hand ; and if it fall with the
black side uppermost, take the
road on thy left hand.'

He tossed the stone high into
the air, and it fell down at his feet
with the golden side up. Jack
said to his brother : 'Thou art
to take the road to the left, and
I will take the road to the right.'

Now the two sat down and
had a little talk together. 'I
go whither I go,' quoth Jack.
'Do thou remember to come
here to these three roads in a
year and a day ; and if thou
arrive before me wait here for
me, and if I arrive before thee,
I will wait for thee, if I be
alive.'

They set off. It was a hot
summer's day. Jack tramped
mile after mile. He could see
no dwelling, and night set in.
He walked all night until it was

¹ *ručō*]=Cont. Gyp. *učō, vučō*, the initial *r* here, as in a few other words, being prosthetic.

² *zeravē-vastēskō*] The first part of this compd. *zeravō* 'left'=Cont. Gyp. *zeruo* from M.Gk. *ζερβός*. Bright (lxxxii) has the Eng. Gyp. orm *zezro*.

³ *Reper tut tū*] *Reper*- here is reflexive. Cp. *Bišterdās pes ō lav* (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., ii. 147).

dena ěib. 'Čas konyō te šunél pōpalē.

Gyas bita dūredér. Dikás bōrō mūrš poše rukéstī, tā šundás tārnī juvel te rōvélas. K'ār-élas avrt: "Kandē,¹ dadáia! muk man konyō! mō kēr ofš!" I bōréski ěai sas. Ō bōrō ĵalas te ěivél šelō trušal lakī men; ĵalas te blavél² lā. Ō bōrō wont-sélas lā te romerél mūršés, t'ī tārnī juvel kamélas les kek.

Sō kedás ō Ĵak? 'Yas ō Ĵak o bār tā uěerdás les, tā diás ī bōrē mūršés ar'ō šērō ī bārésa, tā mārdás les.

Sō pēndás ī tārnī juvel ī Ĵakéski? "Pušā mō dad kom-ónī garadē tanéstī 'doi-kai kek šiš l'aténas les. Dā tut maia sār būt sōnakái sār rigerésa tusa." "Mištó!" xčō Ĵak, "ěiváva les mē 'doi-kai kek na l'atēna les."

Ĵalas te pušavél les. L'atīás ō bita bār aré ī bōrē mūršéskō šērō. Šundás čomónī te raker-élas aré leskō kand: "Muk les 'doi-kai šī-lō, tā ěi o bār³ kī

morn. Now he hears dogs barking. He stood still to listen again.

He went on a little farther. He beheld a giant beside a tree, and heard a young woman weeping. She was crying out: 'Hold, father! Leave me alone! do not treat me thus!' She was the giant's daughter. The giant was about to put a rope round her neck; he meant to hang her. The giant wished her to marry a certain man, but the young woman did not love him.

What did Jack do? Jack took the stone and threw it, and struck the giant on the head with the stone and slew him.

What said the young woman to Jack? 'Bury my father somewhere in a secret place where none may find him. I will give thee as much gold as thou canst carry away with thee.' 'Good!' quoth Jack, 'I will lay him where none shall find him.'

He was about to bury him. He found the little stone in the giant's head. He heard something speaking in his ear: 'Leave him where he is, and place the

¹ *Kandē*] Lit. 'give ear,' 'hearken,' but in W. Romani the Imperative is very commonly used in a general admonitory sense = 'behave thyself.'

² *blavél*] Contr. of *blavavél* from *blavav-*, Cont. Gyp. *umblav-*, 'to hang,' Skr. *avalamb* 'to hang down,' 'to depend,' caus. *avalambaya* 'to cause to hang,' 'to hang up,' 'to suspend.' Cp. the more correct intrans. use of the primary *blav-* in the title of one of my Welsh Gypsy folk-tales, printed elsewhere, *Ō patriniā ka blavénas t'a kekār na ĵivénas*, 'The leaves that hung but never grew.'

³ *bār*] Before we part company with the *bār* let me try to carry its etymology a little further than my predecessors. Pott (ii. 410) is upon the right track, though not very helpful, when he says: 'Wutt (Stein) bei den Zig. Syriens könnte allenfalls hinten auf einen Cerebrallaut rathen lassen; allein Sskr. *pat'ā* (A stone for grinding

leskō zeravō pīro, tā kekār na 'vela dikšīnō¹ pōpalē."

Gilē ō dūi akanš kī bōrē mūršeskō kēr. Ī tārnī juvel piradās χestīār. Odōi sas būt būt gonē sunakāi. Diās yelk gonō sunakāi Jakéskī. Čidās les tōp ō pīkō tā gyas peskī.

Akō ĵala 'kanš 'pārl ī bōrē mūrī pōs te 'viās pōšē dōrīāv. K'inō sas-lō, tā pōrō sas ō gonō te rigerēlas. Beštās talē tā sutīās trin ō štōr ōrī. Ĵanadās,² tā dikās mūršēs te 'velas akatār, tā gonō tōp ō dumō.

'Viās ō mūrš kī yov. Ĵun-diās les. Dikās tōp lestī. "Ai dubla! mō pal šan?" "Aua, tō pal šom, tā kīnō šom." Beštās talē tā piradās peskō bōrō gonō. "Bokālō šom mē. Akē mē ĵava te χō." "Bokālō šom maia tai," pūkādās ō Ĵak leskī. "Soskī na χōsa, kan?" χōšō vavér. "Nai man ēi tī χō." "Sō sī aré tīrō gonō?" "Nai man

stone at his left foot and he will never be seen more.'

Now they both went to the giant's house. The young woman opened a cupboard. In it were a great many bags of gold. She gave one of them to Jack. He put it on his shoulder and departed.

Lo! he travels now over lofty mountains until he reaches the sea. He was weary, and the bag that he carried was heavy. He sat down and slept for three or four hours. He awoke and saw a man coming towards him with a great sack on his back.

The man came up to him. He recognized him. He stared at him. 'Good God, thou art my brother!' 'Yes, I am thy brother and I am weary.' He sat down and opened his great sack. 'I am hungry. See, I am going to eat!' 'And I am hungry too,' replied Jack. 'Why dost thou not eat, then?' quoth the other. 'I have naught to eat.' 'What

with, a mullar) darf nicht zu dem Ende missbraucht werden.' Miklosich (vii. 16) gives the etymon as Kurdish *bār* (which at best can only be a cognate) and later (ix. 26 and *Beitr.* iv. 52) compares Dard *batt*, *bórt*. The Gypsy 'patrin' here is plain and easy to follow. The main forms are Syr. Gyp. *wīt, wat*, Arm. Gyp. *var*, Eur. Gyp. *bar*. Initial *w* in Syr., beside *v* in Arm., and *b* in Eur. Gyp. can only come from Skr. *v*. Syr. Gyp. *ā* or *ū* beside Eur. Gyp. *a* indicates Skr. *a*. Final Syr. Gyp. *ī* (f with Macalister) beside Arm. and Eur. Gyp. *r* points no less certainly to Skr. *ṛ*; Skr. *peṭa* 'belly,' Syr. Gyp. *pet*, Arm. and Eur. Gyp. *per* being a parallel example of this last sound-change. Lastly *bār* which is masc. in all dialects suggests an origin from a Skr. stem in *-a*. Hence we have only to seek for a Skr. *vaṭa*, and we find it, with the meaning 'cowrie,' 'shell,' 'small globular object,' 'missile.'

¹ *dikšīnō*] This curious participial form, in which at first glance one is tempted to see a survival of the original Skr. stem **drks*, more probably arises through a form **dik'yīnō*.

² *Ĵanadās*] Sic in my note-book. Strictly speaking it should be *Ĵandās*, or *Ĵanadās pes*.

kek χῶβέν, 'χῶῥῶ *Jack*, "sṛ sunakái sī mandī." "Te sī tut sunakái, kin tō χῶβέν, kan!" "Auáua," χῶῥῶ *Jack*, "dē man mō pēr pārdō." "Dava tut tō pēr pārdō te desa man stādī pārdī sunakái." Piradās ō *Jack* ō gonō tā pārdīas leskī stādī trominyénsa.¹ Diās les ō pal bita mas tā mōrō.

Gilē ō dūi kitanés pōš' i dōriavéskī rig. Pīrdē pen mī tā mī. Kek na dikē, gilē bokalē pōpalē. Bešdē talē te χῶn. Sas i Jakés te del les vavēr stādī sunakái mankē delas les ō pal ēi² te χῶl.

*T'ā 'jō gilē pōs te bešdē pōpalē. Na sas len kek būt χῶβέν muklō. Ō pal na delas i Jakés ēi te χῶl. "'Yan sṛ mō lovō," χῶῥῶ *eurō Jack*, "nai man kekkómī; tinī desa man bita χῶβén, mērdava bokātē." "Nō! pēndóm tukī, na dava tut ēi tinī peserésa leskī." "Nai man ēi kekkómī te dā tut." "Pēndava tukī sō keráva tusa," χῶῥῶ *pal*. "Dē man yek o tē yakā, tā dava tut bita χῶβén."*

is in thy bag?' 'I have no food,' said Jack, 'I have nothing but gold.' 'Then if thou hast gold, buy thy food.' 'Gladly,' quoth Jack, 'give me my bellyful.' 'I will give thee thy bellyful if thou give me a hatful of gold.' Jack opened the bag and filled his hat with sovereigns. His brother gave him a little bread and meat.

The two fared on together beside the sea-shore. They tramped for miles and miles. They met no one, they grew hungry again. They sat down to eat. Jack was obliged to give his brother another hatful of gold before he would give him anything to eat.

And thus they went on until they rested again. They had not much food left. The brother would not give Jack anything to eat. 'Thou hast got all my money,' quoth poor Jack, 'I have no more; if thou give me not a little food, I shall die of hunger.' 'No, I have told thee, I will give thee nothing except thou pay for it.' 'I have nothing left to give thee.' 'I will tell thee what I will do with thee,' quoth his brother. 'Give me one of thine eyes and I will give thee a little food.'

¹ *trominyénsa*] *Tromin*, which Pott (i. 52) connects with M.Gk. *δραχμή*, in our dialect stands for any sort of gold coin, and with some Gypsies for jewellery also. The latter sense may have originated in the old Gypsy practice of wearing gold or silver coins plaited in the hair, or as necklaces and bracelets.

² *ēi*] Note here, as not infrequently in W. Rom., the use of *ēi* in its original sense of 'anything.'

Tārdiās ō Ĵak yek yak avrt,
tā diās lā leskī. Diās les ō pal
bita te xol. Kedē te xon, tā gilē
penī pōpalē.

Vavēr dives giās, bokalō g'as
ō Ĵak pōpalē. Trašiās te pučél
ī paléstē te del les čomónī te xol.
Ō Ĵak giās bokaledēr tā bokaledēr.
P'učdās peskē paléstē bita xōben-
askī. "Nō mē!" xōčō pal. "Nai
man būt muklō. Te wōntsēsa tū
kuši pōpalē, tārdē vavēr yak avrt,
tā dē man lā." Tārdiās ī vavēr
yak avrt tā diās lā paléskī.
Diās les ō pal kuši kuši xōbēn.

Korodō¹ sas ō čurō Ĵak akanš.
'Yas ō vavēr pal sēr ō sunakái,
mukdās ī Ĵakés kokorō. Ĵunélas
ō Ĵak kek sō te kel. P'irdās pes
top peskē dūī vastā tā dūī naid.²
Ĵunélas kek anī sas divés, anī

Jack plucked out one of his eyes and gave it to him. His brother gave him a little to eat. They finished their meal, and went on their way again.

Another day passed; Jack grew hungry once more. He was afraid to ask his brother to give him something to eat. Jack grew hungrier and hungrier. He asked his brother for a morsel of food. 'Not I,' quoth the brother, 'I have not much left. If thou wouldst have a little more, pluck out thine other eye and give it me.' He plucked out the other eye and gave it to his brother. His brother gave him a tiny morsel of food.

Poor Jack was blind now. The other brother took all the gold and left Jack alone. Jack knew not what to do. He crawled along on his hands and knees. He did not know whether

¹ *Korodō*] = Cont. Gyp. *kororo*, -do never serving as a nominal suffix. Cp. W. Gyp. *čurorō* in the sense of 'poor wretch,' 'outcast,' beside Eng. Gyp. *čurodō* 'tramp.'

² *naid*] The Welsh Gypsies possess the word *nai* for 'knee,' čy being used in its proper etymological sense of 'thigh,' 'upper part of the leg,' and only signifying 'knee' where the two meanings are identified, i.e. *talāl ī čy* 'below the knee.' Clearly this cannot be the same as *nai* 'unguis,' a word common to most dialects, including our own. The latter, it may be noted, as a rule appears to be masculine, and this is in accord with the termination of its Skr. etymon *nakha*. Paspatis indeed marks the word feminine (an error repeated in Miklosich), but that this is a slip is evident from his own example: '*Dži ko khurdō nai*, jusqu'au petit ongle=jusqu'au bout.' The source of our fem. substantive *nai* 'knee' is far from being clear to me. The form suggests an original word, and the termination -ai, here as elsewhere, points to a lost intervocalic consonant (see note to *p'abdi*). One thinks of Skr. *jānu* only to find the evidence against it, unless we assume a **nājo* by metathesis, which would naturally become *nai*, as Skr. *rājan* > **rājō* > **rayo* > *rai*. But initial *j* with us is a strong and stable letter, and this transposition appears unlikely. Possibly *nai* may be connected with some derivative of the Skr. *√nah* 'to bind,' 'to join.' Skr. *naddhi* 'binding,' 'joining,' for instance, used in the sense of 'joint,' would give us in Western Romani **nali* > *nai* (cp. *mol* 'wine' < Skr. *madhu*), and might also account by metathesis for the Nuri *dōni* 'knee.'

sas rātf. 'Viās tala bōrē rukéstī. Na keserēlas kek anī jivēlas anī mērēlas. "Te šom te mērd, mērdava akāi."

'Kana-sig šundās komóni te rakerénas vaverkēnsa aré ō ruk'pārl leskō šērō. T'ā sū sas odói? I pōrnē-pōriākeri¹ tā mūrenējō ŷukel, tā rakerénas kitanés. 'Kala dūi 'venas akāi yekār aré bērséstī te pēnén vaverkējī ō bōredēr kola te l'aténas aról ō bērs.

P'endās ō ŷukel i pōrnē-pōriāki: "Doi sī bōrō gav štōr mī vavēr rig i mūra, tā mēr'na sau gōjē odói truśātē. Ō pānī sī šukerdó. T'ā te 'ven te ŷunén," ŷōē ŷukel, "te ŷandénas ŷent pōš'i bōrī yakējeri,² l'aténas dosta pānī te kel trin gavéjī."

"T'ā šundān tūya, purō papinyéjerō,³ ō bōrō pokónyos⁴ odói gyas korodó ō vavēr kūrko?" "Nō mē!" ŷōē ŷukel, "ēi na šundóm mē." Tārdiās ō ŷukel patrín. "Dikésa 'kaia patrín, pōrnī pōrī?" "Aua," ŷōē pōriākeri. "Te diviē sī odóla gōjē 'dotár! Te mōrénas leskē

it was day or whether it was night. He crept under a big tree. He did not care whether he lived or died. 'If I am to die, I will die here.'

Presently he heard creatures conversing in the tree above his head. And what was there? A squirrel and a fox talking together. These two friends were in the habit of meeting here once a twelvemonth to relate to each other the chief discoveries they had made in the course of the year.

Said the fox to the squirrel: 'There is a great city four miles on the other side of the mountain, and all the people there are dying of thirst. The water is dried up. And if they only knew it,' continued the fox, 'were they to dig a well near the great clock they would find enough water to serve for three towns.'

'And hast thou heard, thou old goose-stealer, that the mayor of that place lost his sight last week?' 'Not I,' quoth the fox, 'I have heard naught of it.' The fox plucked a leaf. 'Dost thou see this leaf, White-tail?' 'Yes,' quoth the squirrel. 'What fools the people of those parts are! If

¹ Lit. 'she of the white tail,' and 'dog of the mountains.'

² yakējeri] Lit. 'thing of the eyes.' This figurative name for 'clock'—whence old thieves' cant *yack* 'watch'—probably owes its origin to the old-fashioned 'grandfather clocks,' with moving eyes in the sun or moon faces painted on the dial.

³ papinyéjerō] Lit. 'he of the geese.'

⁴ bōrō pokónyos] Lit. 'chief magistrate.'

'kā ī patrinyāsa, andēlas peskō dud¹ pōlē."

"*Aē bita, jukelāia, pūkavāva mē čomōnī tukī.*" "*Ast² te šunā les,*" *χρῆσθ'ō jukel.* "*'Rē 'dova gav sī krališēski čai tā dūī šinī³ te 'venas avrī lakō ēikāt.*" "*Auāua,*" *χρῆσθ'ō jukel.* "*'Te 'ven te den lā pabā janas ō šinī bōredēr, tā te den lā vavēr-temēskē pabā tārdinē 'venas ō šinī talē. Odōi sī būt lovō te 'vel linō ī rōnīātē komonēski te tārdēla len.*"

T'ā 'kava čurō korodō talal ō rukī šunēlas sōr te pēnēnas. Oχtīās ī mūrenējō jukel talē 'kanš, t'ī pōrnē - pōriākerī prastīās pala lestī.

'Prē 'čas ō čurō Jak tā 'yas kuši patriniā tā mōrdās peskē 'kā lensa. Sō kekār čaladās len ak'ō 'yas peskō dud pōlē. Traš-adō sas-lō. "Akē mē java k'ō gav 'kanš!"

Gīās 'pārl ī mūra tā 'vīās k'ō bōrō gav. Kedās pes ō Jak bōrō drabējerō, tā gyas kī filišin

they were to rub his eyes with this leaf, he would recover his sight.'

'Wait a moment, Sir Fox, I will tell thee something.' 'Stop till I hear it,' quoth the fox. 'In the same town there is a princess with two horns growing from her forehead.' 'Well?' quoth the fox. 'If they were to give her apples (to eat), the horns would grow larger, and if they were to give her oranges the horns would dwindle away. There is a reward offered by the lady to whomsoever rides her of them.'

And this poor blind fellow beneath the tree was listening to everything they said. Then the fox leaped down and the squirrel scampered after him.

Poor Jack arose and took a few leaves and rubbed his eyes with them. As soon as he touched them, lo! he recovered his sight. He was astounded. 'Come! I will be off to the city now.'

He crossed the mountain and came to the city. Jack dressed himself up as a great physician,

¹ *dud*] Here, as often in W. Rom., used in the sense of 'sight,' 'eyesight,' e.g. *avrī ō dud* 'out of sight.'

² *Ast*] Only used in the Imperative sg. and pl., e.g. *Ast te reperā man* 'wait till I remember'; *astēn bita te pūkavā tumēpi* 'wait a little till I tell you.' Cp. Pasp. (p. 494) s.v. *shta*: *Ashtā te dikhāv* 'attends que je voie.' Mik. (vii. 4) appears to me to be mistaken in regarding *ashtā* as *ac + -ta* (suff. of the emphatic Imper.). I take it rather as a derivative of Skr. *√sthā* with prosthetic *a-*, the same stem with prefix *pra-* being found in our *prast-* 'to run,' Skr. *prasthā*.

³ *šinī*] pl. of *šinua*, the usual, though rather poor, variant of Cont. and Eng. Gyp. *šin*. One hears also, though less frequently, the by-form *šin*, pl. *šinā*, pronounced with a short tense *i*.

'doi-ka sas ō korodō rai. Kūrdās ō huddr, tā kārdinō 'rē sas-lō. "Mē šom ō drabēgerō kai 'vava te dā ī¹ reskō dud."

'Prē ō pōrdos gīās. Odōi sas ō rai, bešēlas 'prē peskī štōr-herēgi skamīn.² Gyas ō Jak te dikēl ī reskē 'kā. Keradās ī patrinyā tā valinasās³ len. Čidās poŕ ar'ī valīn tā tārđiās les 'pārl ī reskē 'kā dūvart. 'Yas ō rai peskō dud. Prečdās ī reskō 'zī, na žunēlas sō te kel ō šērnedēr ī drabēgeréskī. "Sō s'ō lovō, drabēgerāia?" χεῖρō rai. Dīās les ō rai sō pūčdās.

"Aē bita," χεῖρō Jak, "'doi sī yek vavēr kova kamós te kerā maŋkē mukāva ī filišīn. Hai-avāva mē, raia, t'ō pānī sī šukerdō arē tumōrō gav." "Auāua, šukerdō 'prē šī-lō." "Av mansa, sīkavā mē tukī kā sī dosta pānī." Sār kekār šundās ō rai akalēs,⁴ oxtiās k'ō Jak, ta 'yas les arē peskī gant. "Te l'atēsa pānī 'meŋi dava tukī trin gonē trominyā."

Avrt 'vilē, tā 'yas les ō Jak poŕī bōrī yakēgerī. "Dikēsa

and went to the castle where the blind lord dwelt. He knocked at the door and was invited inside. 'I am a doctor come to restore the lord's eyesight.'

He went upstairs. There was the lord seated in his easy-chair. Jack drew near to examine the lord's eyes. He boiled the leaves and bottled them, dipped a feather in the bottle, and passed it twice across the lord mayor's eyes. The lord regained his sight. His spirits rose, he did not know how to requite the doctor sufficiently. 'What is thy fee, doctor?' quoth the lord. He gave him what he asked.

'Wait a moment,' quoth Jack, 'there is one other thing I should like to do before I leave the castle. I understand, my lord, that the water in your town is dried up.' 'Of a verity, it is dried up.' 'Come with me, I will show thee where there is plenty of water.' As soon as the lord mayor heard him, he sprang to Jack and clasped him to his breast. 'If thou find water for us I will give thee three bags of gold pieces.'

They went forth, and Jack led him up to the town clock.

¹ dā ī] Pronounced as a monosyllable dai.

² štōr-herēgi skamīn] Lit. 'four-legged seat,' as distinguished from trin-herēgi skamīn 'stool'; mušēgi (or dūi-mušēgi) skamīn being an 'arm-chair.'

³ valinasās] Here the verbal suff. -as, which is affixed to borrowed words only, seems to reflect the almost uncanny Gypsy quality of distinguishing between loan and original words, as though by some subliminal sort of consciousness. For at least five centuries must have passed since the Gypsies first borrowed váli from the Greeks.

⁴ akalēs] Necessarily, as the inflected accusative shows, to be translated 'him' ('this man'), not 'it' ('this thing').

'kava tan? An tē mūršēn akái." "Andáva len 'kanš." Andías len.

"Nē'kanš!" χ'δ'ō Jak, "χandén tumé talé 'kai." O mūrš anjerdē pen te ken ī būti. Talé χandilē bita. L'atilē pānī dosta te kelas trin gavēñi. Peserdás ō rai ī Ĵakés, tā gyas pesk' ō Ĵak ī lovésa. Xučerdás¹ peskē pikē. "Kerdáva mē mištō aré 'kava gav, tā sī man ī krališéski čai pōpalē."²

Kindás tušnī pārdī pabā, tā tušnī pārdī vavēr-leméñē pabā,³ tā čidás len talé pōš'ī bōrē filišinákī stīga.

'Čas odói trin divesēñi. 'Prē ō trinēñō⁴ divés avrt' 'vilē ō pūrō krališus t' ī pūrī krališa tā peñi čai aré peñi gīga. Tā sas ī čatī dūi šinī tōp lakō šērō.

Dikás ī tārnī rōnī tōp ī pabā. "Ač, daia, di't'ī raikanē pabā 'doi!" "Kamésas kuši lendē, čaia?" "Aua," χ'δ'ī tārnī rōnī. Kindē kuši lendē.

Xoiás ī rōnī dūi trin lendē odóva dives. 'Čas opré ar'ī

'Seest thou this spot? Bring thy men hither.' 'I will bring them at once.' He brought them.

'Now then,' quoth Jack, 'dig ye down here.' The men stripped for the job. They dug down a little way. They found enough water to serve for three towns. The lord paid Jack, and Jack departed with the reward. He shrugged his shoulders. 'I am doing well in this town, and I have still the king's daughter up my sleeve.'

He bought a basketful of apples and a basketful of oranges, and set them down close by the gate of the palace.

He waited there for three days. On the third day the old king and queen and their daughter came forth in their chariot. And the girl had two horns on her head.

The young lady cast her eye on the apples. 'Stay, mother, see the beautiful apples there!' 'Wouldst thou like a few of them, daughter?' 'Yes,' quoth the young lady. They bought a few.

The young lady ate two or three that day. She arose in

¹ xučerdás] xučer- 'to shrug or raise the shoulders,' can only be a denom. of *χučō, which is perhaps a variant form of ručō (cp. above, p. 88, note 1), with prosthetic χ instead of r.

² pōpalē] For this sense of *praeterea* cp. H.T.C. (from Oliver Lee, a half-Welsh Gypsy): 'Doi see mauro, ta mas, ta lovina; ta so see doi popli' 'There is bread and meat and beer, and what is there besides' (S. and C., p. 287).

³ vavēr-leméñē p'abā] Lit. 'foreign apples.' With some Gypsies 'orange' is rendered by the loan-word *órena*, from W. 'orein.'

⁴ trinēñō] The ordinals in -tō of other dialects do not occur in W. Rom.

'saŕla. *Dikás ar'ō dikimánerō. Ō šinī gilē bōredēr. Trašdás ī krališéski ēai.*

Kedás pes ō Jak drabénerō pōpalē, tā gyas te dikél lā divés ō dūi palál. "Mištō 'vīán,¹ drabēneráia, gladimén² šom te diká tut," xōēī rōnī. "Dikésa akála šinī 'prē mō ēikát. Junésa čomóni te tārdeła len talé?" "Aua," xōēō Jak. "Mus te des man 'kyafakya 'kyafakya lovó." "Lesa les," xōēī rōnī.

Tārdiás ō Jak ī vavēr-čemeski pabái³ avrī peski poči, čindias kotōr latē ī čuridasa tā gyas k'ī rōnī. "Pirā tō mūi, rōnta, či tī čib avrī." Čidás ō kotōr 'prē

the morning. She looked in her mirror. The horns had grown larger. The king's daughter was horrified.

Jack disguised himself again as a physician, and went to visit her a day or two afterwards. 'Welcome, doctor, I am rejoiced to see thee,' quoth the young lady. 'Thou seest these horns on my forehead. Dost thou know of aught that will remove them?' 'Yes,' quoth Jack, 'but thou must give me such and such a sum of money.' 'Thou shalt have it,' quoth the lady.

Jack pulled an orange out of his pocket, cut a slice from it with his knife and went up to the princess. 'Open thy mouth, my lady, put out thy tongue.'

¹ *Mištō 'vīán*] Lit. 'Thou hast well come.'

² *gladimén*] See my previous notes to words with this suffix (*J. G. L. S.*, N.S., i. 155 note 3, iv. 43 note 4).

³ *pabái*] Here again I attempt to solve a riddle which has so far proved a crux to our etymologists—the source of the word *p'apdi* or *p'abdi* 'apple.' Pott (ii. 378) notes an Ossetian phaešky which, as he himself confesses, 'liegt gewiss zu weit ab.' Miklosich (viii. 38) and Ascoli (55) merely give the reference to Pott, the former (*Beitr.* iv. 53), 1878, comparing Dard. *palói*, *palá*, *phalá*, but later (x. 6), 1880, still labelling the word 'dunkel.' So also Paspatis (406): 'L'étym. m'est inconnue.'

In this case, again, each step of the evidence can be substantiated in any phonetic court of law. Considering first the form of *p'apdi*, the diphthong -ai of the last syllable assures us that an intervocalic consonant has been dropped, and the hiatus avoided by the insertion of a final i, or rather y, preceding the original stem termination. Cp. *nai* 'nail' from Skr. *nakha*, through Prākṛ. *naha* > Rom. **nayō* > *nai*; also Mik. ix. 15, x. 12. Furthermore, that this lost consonant was *l* is clear from the derivatives *p'apalín*, *p'abalín* 'apple-tree,' where the suff. -in denotes the tree, of which the original word signifies the fruit. We thus reach **p'apal*, which with little doubt is a stem formed by reduplication, a class not uncommon in Romani, especially in the case of words terminating in -l, e.g. *baval*, Cont. Gyp. *balval* 'wind,' Skr. *vāta* 'wind,' *vātavat* 'tempest' (a parallel redupl. hitherto unnoticed), other examples being Gk. Gyp. *bulbul* 'podex,' Skr. *buli*; *pōpalē*, Cont. Gyp. *palpale* 'again' from *palē*, Skr. *pare*; *velvel* 'debt,' Skr. *bali*.

There is now left only to account for the simple stem **pal*, which takes us straight home to Skr. *phala* 'fruit' from √*phal* 'to bear fruit,' an etymon which is further corroborated by the derivative Skr. *phalín* 'fruit-bearing,' 'fruit-tree' (=Rom. *p'al[pa]lín*), which identifies the mysterious Romani suffix -in, as to the

ī rōniāki ēib. "Ūi 'dovā talē tō kērlō.¹ 'Vava mē akāi kalikō 'sařla pōpalē." Gyas pesk'ō drabēgerō.

'Sařla 'viās akanš. 'Prē 'ēas ī tārnī rōnī tā dikās arē ō dikimāgerō. Ō dūi šinī dikēnas bitedēr. 'Viās ō drabēgerō te dikēl lā pōpalē. Oxtiās ī rōnī 'prē, tā diās les ō vast. "Ō šinī gilē talē bita, drabēgerāia." Diās lā kotōr ī vavēr-temēskī pābāi. "'Vava mē, rōnta, mē lovēskī ar'ī 'sařla."

Jaṇadās ar'ī 'sařla tā dikās ar'ō dikimāgerō. Gilē sas ō šinī. Sundilē ō krališus t'ī krališa sār sas ī šinī tārdinē akāla drabēgerēstē. Dilē les sār būt lovō sār rigerēlas.

'Yas ō Ĵak p'skō lovō tā gyas pōlē k'ō trin dromā, 'doi-ka sas les te dikēl peskē pālēs. Poš rat sas: sutiās talal ī bōr.

Ar'ī 'sařla dikās p'skō² pāl te 'velas. "Kon 'vela 'doi?" xōē yov. "Akē mē!" xōē pāl, "akāi šan aṇlān mandī, hō?" "Savō baxt 'yan, bō?" "Ūi na 'yom mē, ēōrvanō šom,

He placed the slice on the lady's tongue, 'Swallow that. I will return to-morrow morning.' The doctor took his leave.

Now it was morn. The young lady arose and looked in her mirror. Both horns seemed smaller. The doctor paid her another visit. The lady sprang up and gave him her hand. 'The horns have shrunk a little, doctor.' He gave her a slice of orange. 'I shall come for my fee, your ladyship, in the morning.'

She awoke in the morning and looked in her mirror. The horns had disappeared. The king and queen heard how the horns had been removed by this doctor. They gave him as much money as he could carry.

Jack took his money and went back to the three roads, where he was to meet his brother. It was midnight; he fell asleep under the hedge.

In the morning he saw his brother approaching. 'Who comes there?' cried he. 'It is I,' quoth his brother; 'so thou art here before me, eh?' 'What luck hast thou had, old

origin of which Mik. (x. 22 (c)) is silent, with the Skr. adjectival suff. -in denoting possession. To complete our analysis it may be noted that whether the reduplication began with an Indian *palphala or a Gyp. *p'alpalō the result in either case would be the same, the aspiration being transferred to or retained in the initial syllable. Then the medial *l*, as the weaker member of the mixed nexus -*lp*-, disappears by assimilation (Bms. i. 323, Pisch. § 296), the surviving medial *p* being afterwards in most dialects, as with us, softened to *b*.

¹ Ūi 'dovā talē tō kērlō] Lit. 'Put that down thy throat.' Elsewhere I have heard from members of the family of Wood the simple word *nakav-* for 'to swallow,' caus. of *nak-* 'to pass,' from Skr. √*nak*s.

² diēds p'skō] Pronounced almost *dik'apskō*.

našadóm s̄r mīrō lovō. S̄r
'vīān tū akāi, tā tūya korodō?"
 "'Yom mē fededēr baχt nā tū,"
χəfō Jak, "'yom nēvē 'kā tā
gonō lovō dūvart bōredēr nā
'dovā te 'yan tū kana tārđān
mīrē 'kā."

chap?' 'I have gained naught,
 I am destitute, I have lost all
 my money. And how didst
 thou reach here, being blind?'
 'I have had better luck than
 thou,' quoth Jack, 'I have got
 new eyes, and a bag of money
 twice as big as the one thou
 tookest when thou didst blind
 me.'

Akō dūi palā jana kitanés kī
bārenéγō kēr te dikén i purīd,¹
i bī-mušéγerī tā bī-pīréγerī.
L'atilē lā, tā peserdē lā kušī
trominyd.

Well, then, the two brothers
 set off together to the cave to
 visit the old woman, the arm-
 less and legless one. They found
 her and rewarded her with a
 few gold pieces.

Tā gilē ō dūi palā kī peγī
nogī bita vlija, tā pređdē nēvō
kēr odói. Tā 'doi jivēna
kitanés bita būtiak'rīāsa. Kekār
na čigerēna vaverkēnsa.

And the two brothers went to
 their own little village and
 built a new house there. And
 there they live together with a
 little maid-servant, and now they
 never fall out with one another.

Okē s̄r te jund mē trušal
odóla dūi paléndi. L'atén
tumáia būtedēr te kaména!

That is all I know concerning
 those two brothers. Find out
 more for yourselves if ye will!

[NOTE.—In the transcription of the above story I use ɔ, ɔ̄ for the sounds heard respectively in 'not,' 'naught,' ɞ̄ for a long, double, or strongly trilled r.]

III.—THE ROMANI SPEECH OF CATALONIA

By FREDERICK GEORGE ACKERLEY

IN the year 1896 Professor Rudolf von Sowa published in the *Jahres-Bericht des ersten deutschen k. k. Gymnasiums in Brunn* a sketch of the Romani spoken in Catalonia, based upon a study of all the material then available, under the title *Die Mundart der Catalonischen Zigeuner*. He was handicapped in several ways. The material was scanty, and an important source,

¹ *purīd*] See above, p. 87, note 1.

viz., a series of articles by Jaubert de Réart, he had to take at second hand through de Rochas. Now de Rochas combined the bulk of de Réart's material with words of his own collecting in a vocabulary which appeared in *Les Parias de France et d'Espagne* (Paris, 1876). In doing so some words were overlooked and some mistranscribed. Von Sowa tells us that a copy of de Rochas' book was lent him by Mr. MacRitchie, containing notes in the latter's handwriting. The professor seems to have been a little shaky in his French, and to have leaned on Mr. MacRitchie to his own undoing. An amusing instance is his rendering of *musur*. I hasten to say that no blame attaches to our esteemed fellow-member, and unless he wrote very faintly in pencil, no one who knows his clear script would charge the misunderstanding to his handwriting. De Rochas has 'écurie—*musur*,' against which MacRitchie doubtless wrote 'stable.' Von Sowa, overlooking the initial, translates *Tisch*! He has also completely misunderstood what de Rochas says of the sources of his vocabulary. His sketch of the dialect, nevertheless, is excellent. My reasons for reopening the subject are as follows: (1) that von Sowa's article is probably difficult to procure to-day; (2) that I have personally examined de Réart's articles in the exceedingly rare *Publicateur*; (3) that I have had access to four manuscript vocabularies and a version of the Paternoster unknown to von Sowa; and (4) that Miklosich lumps Catalanian together with Spanish Romani, thus giving the latter an appearance of grammatical purity which it does not properly possess. So long as the miserable remnant of Basque Romani is treated under a separate rubric, the Romani of Catalonia ought to be kept distinct from that of Spain, for it is—or was seventy years ago—by far the best preserved of the Gypsy dialects of the Peninsula.

The chain of the Pyrenees runs roughly from the Bay of Biscay in an easterly direction to a point on the Gulf of Lyons. The Catalan language is spoken from Barcelona up to and across the mountains, and on the French side mainly in Roussillon and Cerdagne. It differs considerably from Spanish, being a sister dialect of modern Provençal, both derived from the old *Langue d'Oc* of the Troubadours. The Romani dialect of Catalonia consequently is to be met with on both sides of the eastern Pyrenees. At the other end of the mountain chain towards the Bay of Biscay the last echoes of Basque Romani may perhaps still be heard. Spanish Romani is found west of these. Von Sowa brings into

comparison forms from Portuguese Romani and its sub-dialect of Brazil, but there seems to be little advantage in this. The Gypsies of Portugal must have passed through Spain, and their dialect should be separately dealt with by comparing it in the first instance with Spanish Romani, and then with the established results of an investigation of the two Pyrenean dialects. The question to be determined is at what point the Gypsies of the Peninsula crossed the Pyrenees. It may be that in Spanish Romani there are two linguistic strains corresponding to the Catalanian and the Basque dialects of Romani. This, or something like this, was, I believe, a favourite theory of the late Dr. Knapp.

I. SOURCES

King Arthur's opportune arrival at Mount Badon was no more *insperatum auxilium* than has been for our present purpose the happy chance that led me, while searching the Bataillard manuscripts in the Free Reference Library in Manchester, to open, out of the forty bundles in that collection, one which contains information about the Gypsy speech of Catalonia. Here too I found the original articles of de Réart in the *Publicateur des Pyrénées Orientales*, so that I am able to correct de Rochas and to supplement his list of words.

The material for a study of this dialect then consists of the following nine sources. These I indicate by prefixing an appropriate symbol for ease of reference.

B.—A short vocabulary collected by Bataillard himself at Perpignan, on the French side of the eastern Pyrenees. His Gypsy informant was named Chala. With this goes another list which he obtained from Agouste (Auguste) Malla, *bohémien nomade*, at Pontrouge,¹ on the 2nd April 1850. It was one of these lists that caught the eye of Mr. Winstedt when he found the Chiavina tale in the same collection of papers (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 242-53).

Ti.—A vocabulary supplied by a certain M. Tathe, collected by him in Roussillon in 1836. At the end he has written 'ces mots m'ont été donnés par Miguel Olivello natif de San Boy de Llobregat, corrégiment de Barcelone. Il sait lire et écrire en Catalan. Il est marié avec Paula Pobills de famille Gitana de

¹ I cannot identify this place.

Castell d'Empurias.'¹ This is evidence that at that date these Gypsies were nomadic at least within the limits of what I call Catalonia, or the districts in which Catalan is the speech of the peasants.

Tii.—Another vocabulary from M. Tathe, collected in Barcelona and its environs in the same or the succeeding year. To the following words, *munraba*, *jert*, *jerni*, *graf*, *yeck rapatani*, is attached this note: 'le Boh: du quel M. Tathe a obtenu ces mots était occupé à tondre des mules.'

These two lists are in Bataillard's handwriting. I could find no trace of the originals, which presumably were returned.

Tiii.—A version of the Paternoster, 'écrit de la main du gitano Gimenes Coles, habile guitarro—Barcelone, 1837.' Coles' handwriting was so difficult that Bataillard, contrary to his usual rule, seems never to have attempted a transcript. There is a second version, apparently by the same hand, which was so illegible that I let it alone.

Tiv.—A vocabulary collected by M. de Riubanys, of which a copy was sent to Bataillard by M. Tathe. Bataillard copied this, and either he or the first copyist found trouble with the handwriting, as several words are marked with *d*, or 'un peu douteux.' De Riubanys, according to a marginal note, was a wealthy young man of Catalonia, whom Tathe met at Perpignan. He died in 1832 or 1834. Some two dozen Hebrew words are scattered about this vocabulary. 'Sans doute,' comments Bataillard, 'M. de Riubanys cherchait des rapprochements.' No further notice need be taken of this Borrovian essay in etymology.

P.—A series of articles by Jaubert de Réart in the *Publicateur des Pyrénées Orientales*, May-November 1855. Most of the words from this source were incorporated in his own list by de Rochas. Apparently von Sowa misunderstood the situation, since he wrote that de Rochas combined a list of words supplied by de Réart with some from an anonymous source in the *Publicateur*. Though accurate in the main in his transcript, de Rochas was not exhaustive, and some interesting matter remained still in the obscurity 'd'un petit journal de province, qui a cessé sa publication' (de Rochas wrote in 1876) 'depuis quarante ans.' Jaubert de Réart gathered his material in Roussillon.

R.—The vocabulary in *Les Parias de France et d'Espagne*, by

¹ About twenty miles north of Gerona, near Figueras. Usually Castellon de Ampurias.

Victor de Rochas (1876). As already explained, this list includes the major portion of de Réart's work. De Rochas' work and the following formed the sole material upon which von Sowa worked. His own words were obtained from an old man and an old woman in Béziers named Rey, Patraque of Narbonne, Baranger of Perpignan, and Juan Ximenes of Lerida.

M.—Some words given by Mr. MacRitchie in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 35-45. Von Sowa does not appear to have noticed that three of these words are expressly stated not to be Catalanian Romani, but to have been volunteered by a Gypsy who had travelled.

V.—A few words from a play by Vallmitjana, reviewed by Mr. Greene, *J. G. L. S.*, v. 140. I have not included the words in the other book with which Mr. Greene dealt, as I agree with him that the language of two verses there given is Spanish, and the Romani is Spanish Romani.¹

ORTHOGRAPHY

An explanation of the method adopted for representing the sounds of the dialect is given by none of our authorities except de Rochas: and he is disappointing. He tells us that 'quand nous avons cru entendre différemment que notre devancier,' that is de Réart, 'nous l'avons noté; mais en examinant après coup, nous avons reconnu que cette différence tenait souvent à l'orthographe adoptée.' He adds that *v* and *b* are interchangeable sounds; that for de Réart's *kh* he prefers to write *j* or *x*, as the sound is that of the Spanish *j*; that *u* represents French *ou*; *ch* is like *tsh*; and that *n* and *l* with *Mouillirung* are written *ñ* and *ll*. In a word, he follows the Spanish rather than the French orthography.

This does not go very far towards elucidating de Réart's system, for it leaves untouched the difficult problem of expressing in Spanish orthography the sound of *dž*, and in fact we find de Rochas copying the greater part of de Réart's words just as they stand, or with the change of *kh* to *j*. De Réart's accents he ignores. He has made some mistakes: *nubo* new, for *nabo*; *chonorro* poor, for *tchurrurró*; *mulato* dirty, for *mulaló*; *araxa* raisins, copying the obvious misprint *arakha* in the *Publicateur*, where the word also appears correctly as *drakha*. Possible or

¹ For a similar reason I leave out two songs among the Tathe collection.

probable misprints in the same source are copied : *kukar* beautiful, for *khukar* ; *napubo* silver, for *rapubo*. Finally he is sometimes rash in inferring forms, getting *pralo* brother, and *pacpralo* cousin, from de Réart's plurals *pralé*, *pacpralé*. With regard to these last two words, it is not certain how de Réart's *c* should be pronounced. By analogy with other forms it ought to be χ , and I have taken it thus, but von Sowa, with some probability, understands a change of sound to *k*.

Bataillard appears, as one would expect, to spell in French fashion, Coles in Spanish fashion. The rest are very inconsistent.

Von Sowa takes *tgi*, used by de Rochas in copying de Réart, as equivalent to *dž*, but with some hesitation. That his inference is correct can be demonstrated from the new material. Compare P. *tgiabé* with Tii. *jababa* and V. *atzalar* ;¹ P. *tgirov* with Tiv. *djouv* ; P. *tgiukel* with Tii. *djukel*.

The combination *tc* in P. and R. is puzzling. These sources occasionally use *ts*, *tz*, *z* or *zz* for *ts*. That they mean the same sound when they write *tc* is apparent from such comparisons as these : P. *tcini* with Tii. *tzino* ; P. *gatci* with R. *gadzi* and Tiv. *gotzi*.

De Réart sometimes writes *g* where other sources have *j* : P. *garò*, V. *garó* beside R. *jero*. This may indicate a difference in pronunciation between one district, or one family, and another. There are other instances of diverse pronunciation, for example, Ti. has *schro* beside the forms just given. In the vocabulary I have had to decide in arbitrary fashion which sound should be taken as the norm of the dialect.

All the methods of spelling that can cause the reader any hesitation are displayed in the following scheme.

It will be observed that some of these are adaptations of Catalan methods of representing sounds, notably *x*, *tx*, *tg*, *ny*. As in Catalan the letter *h* is mute. Some of our sources use it regularly before an initial *a*.

Final *-rt* in monosyllables (see Phonology, *Representation of Consonants* 5) is, I believe, merely a device to secure the pronunciation of final *r*, which in Catalan would generally be mute.

¹ Analysed thus : *a* phonetic prefix ; *dža* root ; *l* Romani formative suffix ; *ar* Spanish or Catalan infinitive suffix.

Normal, .	χ	$t\check{s}$	$d\check{z}$	$\check{s}$	nj	lj	ts
B. . .	χ, kh, h	tch	dj, g	sch, ch			ts
Ti. . .	hh, g, j	tch, dch, ch	dj	sch	$\tilde{n}, gn$	ll	ts, tz, tg
Tii. . .	j, ch	tch, ch	dj, j	sch, x	$\tilde{n}y$		ts, tz
Tiii. . .	g, j	ch				ll	
Tiv. . .	g, j	tch, ch	dj, g, tjj	sc, cs, chs, cxh	$\tilde{n}, g\tilde{n}$	ll	ts, tz, z, tes
P. . .	g, c, kh	tch, ch	$tg, tgi, tggj, gg, j$	sch, chs	gni, ign	ill	tz, tc, zz
R. . .	j, x, c	$tsch, tch, ch$	$tgi, tggj$	sch	gn, sni	ll	dz, zz, tc, ch
M. . .		tch, ch	dj	sh, sch	$\tilde{n}$		
V. . .	j, g	tx	tx, x		ny		

PHONOLOGY

Representation of the Vowels.—1. Phonetic prefix (*Vorschlag*) is frequent in Catalanian Romani. It occurs mainly before *r* (*l*), and occasionally before other consonants. Examples: *adinyar*, *ayame* and *haiame* (*ame*), *alober-*, *arak-*, *aran*, *arani*, *arat*, *aratsi*, *arikar-*, *asa*, *assi* (*is-*), *axtar*, *ashtar* and *estar* (*star*), *atzip* (*tšip*).

The following may be examples of phonetic prefix, but are more probably instances of the use of the feminine definite article : *elen, eres, idoj* (*doχ*), *ipor*.

The semi-vowel *j* appears in *yame* (*ame*), with an additional prefix in the two forms already quoted.

The word *araxa* is a misprint for *draxa*.

2. In Catalanian Romani *a* often replaces *e* of other dialects, and conversely *e* replaces usual *a*. Examples : *anja, barbalje, dabel* (*rodebel*), *garo* (*χero*), *χali, jalo* (*χelo*), *kharni* (*χernji*), *χaroi, haftha* (*efta*), *ya* (*jek*), *kar-, kal-, katene, mar-, nabo, pan-, pardine, ta* (*te*), *tarno*.

Conversely : *aster-, aretzi* (*aratsi*), *eure* (*anro*), *ygresgni* (*grasni*), *jenrou* (*χanro*), *lecho* (*lutšo*), *nembrol* (*ambrol*), *nesalo, prest-* (*prast-*), *sere, tšero*.

3. *u* replaces *o* of other dialects, as is not uncommon in Anglo-Romani. Examples : *batou, buru* (*baro*), *džuralo, džuro, foru, χuχui, χumer, kuro, kurro* (*koro*), *kourkou* (*kurko*), *lulo* (*lolo*), *lun* (*lon*), *manrou, muljibo, murutsi, ou u* (*o*), *upre, rum* (*rom*), *sūbalú* (*tsuvalo*), *tchimuny* (*tšimoni*), *tchabiou* (*tšabio*), *dchumud* (*tšomut*), *tsunakay, tchurro* (*tšoro*), *tourdou* (*turdo*). Perhaps also *bukali, buke*.

4. Much less frequent than the foregoing are the replacement of usual *u* by *a* in *graf* (*guruf*), *napubo* (misprint for *rapubo*?), and *traχoul* (*truχul*).

a replaces usual *o* : *kalin*.

a replaces usual *i* : *karab-*.

e replaces usual *i* : *kelba, cherriclo* (*tširiklo*).

e (*i*) replaces usual *o* : *tšimut tšemut* (*tšomut*), *djero* (*džuro*).

i replaces usual *a* : *arikar-, džin-, kiliko, kingari, lesquiri* (*leskaro*).

i replaces usual *u* : *džingalo*.

o replaces usual *a* : *boro* (*baro*), *boloune* (*balune*), *got* (*gat*), *gotzi* (*gatsi*), *pobai, tsouvolu*. The resemblance to Anglo-Romani here is noteworthy, though perhaps not so close as one might think. Anglo-Romani *a* tends towards *o* rather than *o*. We have, however, short *o* in *pobo*.

o replaces usual *e* (*i*) : *kotsi, to* (*te*).

o replaces usual *u* : *bosni* (*busno*), *goruf* (*guruf-*), *solivaris, sobinyar* (*suv-*), *tot* (*tu*).

u replaces usual *e* : *duriaf, kurkjo, mulalo*.

u replaces usual *a* : *buru* (*baro*).

In all these the disturbing factor is most frequently the proximity of a labial, sibilant, or *r* (*l*). Von Sowa was misled by a misprint in quoting *nubo* as an example of *u* for *e*. His comparison of *kukia* with *kokali* is fallacious, as he misunderstood the phrase in which the word occurs.

An initial vowel is lost in *ber*, *phta* (*efta*), *steriben* (*asteriben*), and *villasa* (*av-*).

Representation of Consonants.—1. In common with Spanish Romani our dialect substitutes *χ* for *š*. Examples: *beχ*, *berχ*, *biχ*, *briχindo*, *deχ*, *doχ*, *χel*, *χelo*, *χero*, *χil*, *χof*, *χukar*, *χuχui*, *χun-*, *χut*, *manuχ*, *naχ-*, *paχ*, *raχai*, *traχ*, *truχul*.

This change, however, is not carried out consistently, *š* remaining in the following words: *aš-*, *grash grasht* (*grast*), *schro* (*χero*), *kašt*, *manusch* (*manuχ*), *mišto*, *puraštubin*, *puška*, *romanishel* *romnishel* (under *rom*), *štar*, *šuko*, *šukro*.

Cat for *kašt* may be a mishearing of **kaχt*.

2. Besides several instances of *Mouillirung*, the following words show consonantal inodification due to the presence of the vowel *i*: *aratsi*, *butsi*, *kotsi*, *murutsi*, *patsibali*, *tsino*.

Add also *dzibes*, *gatsi*, *gutsi*, *gadsini*, and *tasarle* where *s* springs from *χi*.

kinzardo, *kind-* illustrate the common interchange of *k* and *t*, due to the same cause.

3. Metathesis, or transposition of letters, occurs in *berjindo* (*briχindo*), *barko*, *dilino*.

4. A marked peculiarity of the dialect, to which I can find no parallel, is the forcible explosion of breath before the vocal chords begin to vibrate in pronouncing initial *d*. Hence we get spellings such as these: *tday*, *tdrom*, *tdjouri*, *tdabel*.

Somewhat similar is the strengthening of *m* in *araquiom* (*arak-*), *khumbert* (*χumer*).

5. Final *r* tends to become *rt*, except perhaps where a final *i* has disappeared: *khumbert* (*χumer*), *jert* (*χer*), *pport* (*por*), *tšort*. Compare *por*, feather.

6. A final consonant is sometimes lost: *bu* (*but*), *guru* (*guruf*), *yo* (*jof*).

7. A final voiced consonant usually changes to the corresponding breath consonant: *af*, *benχ*, *dant*, *dat*, *dut*, *džif*, *džof*, *eres*, *gat*, *gillaf*, *guruf*, *khaf* (*χa-*), *χof*, *jak*, *jof*, *if*, *laf*, *nař*, *tšomut*, *pantš*. But final *s* becomes *z* in *dinaz*, *maz*.

There are, however, exceptions: *djinav* (*džin-*), *racarav*

(*arikar-*), *gad*, *jov* (*χof*), *tgiov* (*džof*), *lang*, *dchumud* (*tšomut*).

8. The interchange of *v* and *b* mentioned by de Rochas occurs so frequently that no examples need be given here. Less frequently *l* and *r* interchange: *alob-*, *barbal*, *mal-*.

9. As to the aspirated consonants: *ph* and *kh* part with the aspirate. *Th* becomes *ts*: *tsem*, *tsuvolo*. This *ts* may be reduced to *s* and finally to *š*: *tsuvolo*—*subalo*—*štvalo*. Compare also *sut* for usual *thud*.

On the other hand, *ts* may spring from *s*: *tsuno*, *tsunakay* (*sonakai*), *tsin* (Hungarian *szin*).

10. A difference in pronunciation may possibly be indicated by *garà* beside *χaroi*, *garó* beside *χero*, *garñi* beside *χernji*, *ganik* beside *χanjik*, *gumer* beside *χumer*. The first of these words puzzled von Sowa, the second surprised Mr. Greene.

11. There are numerous other changes among the consonants, of which the following may be noted:

tš from *š*: *betš*, *butšern-*, *tšaχ*.

χ from *g*: *banχo*, *benχ*.

χ from *k*: *quech* (*kek*), *chouχo* (*šuko*), *tiraχ*.

s from *š*: *dès-ta-jel* beside *deχ*, *sast*, *sil* beside *χil*, *sof* beside *χof*, *star*.

ts from *tš*: *tsiros*, *tsitsai*, *tsoχα*.

12. As in the Basque and Spanish Romani dialects, consonants are lost when a labial and *n* come together: *kami*, *rumi* (*romni*).

SUFFIXES

Here need only be mentioned the following suffixes used in forming substantives:

-*ben* (abstract): *asteriben*, *dukiben*, *dživiben*, *lukiben*, *mariben*, *mištiben*, *paripen*, *tšatšipen*, *tšoriben*.

-*ari*: *dungari*, *χundunari*, *solivaris*, *strengari*, *tšumaχari*.

-*us*: *gulus*.

-*itsa*: *kabanitsa*, *kralitsa*, *kunitsa*, *mamutsa*, *tšubarnitsa*.

-*oro* (diminutive): *loloro*, *tšabori*, *tšororo*.

The comparative suffix -*der* occurs in *sigader*.

Verbal suffixes are:

-*sar*: *bendisar-*, *buskesar-*, *kantisar-*, *kontrisar-*, *preχesar-*, *prosar-*, *vaižisar-*.

-el: *atxalar* (dža-), *garibel-*, *camelar* (kam-), *marelar*, *plastalar* (prast-), *sinelar*.

-in: *butšern-*, *din-*, *hokkanar*, *nutrin-*, *suvinar*.

Verbs are frequently given in an infinitive form with Catalan termination -ar, -er.

DECLENSION

The dialect, as von Sowa justly remarks, has retained much of the original declensional system, and employs the forms in the sense of the original language, in which it compares very favourably with the Spanish dialect. We find here no examples of oblique cases used for nominative, with the exception of an occasional accusative form. Solecisms such as this, however, are frequent in far better preserved dialects.

Plurals are formed sometimes as in Catalan by adding -s, but more frequently in the true Romani fashion. Examples: *anro* pl. *enre* and *enri*, *bal* pl. *bals*, *butsà* pl. *butsa*, *drak* pl. *draxa*, *džuri* pl. *tgiuria*, *grasni* pl. *grasna*, *χaroi* pl. *jarà*, *χelo* pl. *jeli*, *jak* pl. *iakha*, *kan* pl. *kane*, etc.

Adjectives form their feminine in -i and plural in -e, -ia. Examples: *bano* f. pl. *bania*, *kek* f. *keki*, pl. *keke*, *parno* f. *parna* (sic!) pl. *parne*, *tsino* f. *tcini*, *uro* pl. *urre*. Plural sometimes also in -s: *χel* pl. *χels*, *kek* pl. *keks*.

The oblique cases of substantives and adjectives have completely disappeared from active service, their place being taken by the nominative following prepositions. There are, however, four fossilized survivals that are by no means without interest: *kurriakatar*, blind of one eye, is probably used as though it were one word in the nominative. The phrase *kuro jakatar* has a parallel in Paspatis. See the references given in the vocabulary. *Redablesa* survives probably in one phrase, *dža redablesa*, and not as a separate word. It is of the highest interest, since it preserves the termination of the oblique adjective as well as the instrumental case of the noun. The adjectival genitive used as a new substantive survives in *duengri*, 'piécette.' In this respect Catalonian Romani ranks below some of the less well-preserved dialects. Dr. Sampson's remarks on this formation (*J. G. L. S.*, vii. 231) ought not to be overlooked. The last apparent instance of these survivals from a grammatical past is *develeskri*, used in adjectival sense in the phrase *develeskri dai*. It cannot be

accepted as genuine Catalanian Romani. Our dialect uses *rodebel*, *dabel*, and once only *dat debel*, while the form *develeskri* suggests a phonetically purer dialect. Further, the phrase has a suspiciously eastern ring about it. I shall have occasion to refer to this phrase later on, when an attempt will be made to assign it to its true home.

Turning now to the pronouns we find the Romani declensional system in full use in our dialect. The personal pronouns are declined as follows:

N.	<i>me</i> , I	<i>tu</i> , thou	<i>jof</i> , he	<i>joi</i> , she	[<i>po</i> , reflexive]
A.	<i>man</i>	<i>tut</i>	<i>les</i>	...	<i>pes</i>
Prep.	<i>mande</i>	...	...	...	...
Dat.	<i>mange</i>	<i>tuke</i>	...	<i>lake</i>	...
Abl.	...	...	...	...	...
Inst.	<i>mansa</i>	<i>tusa</i>	...	...	...

Nom.	<i>ame</i> , we	<i>tume</i> , you	<i>jon</i> , they	[reflexive]
Acc.	<i>'men</i>	<i>tumen</i>	<i>len</i>	<i>pen</i>
Prep.	<i>amende</i>	...	...	...
Dat.	...	<i>tumenge</i>	<i>lenge</i>	<i>penge</i>
Abl.	...	...	...	...
Inst.	...	...	...	...

The possessives are *minro*, *miro*, *mro*, my; *tiro*, *tro*, thy; *leskaro*, his; *lakro*, her (translated 'their'); *peskaro*, his own; *amaro*, our; *tumaro*, your. No word for 'their' is recorded, unless de Réart is right about *lakro*. It may be that **lengro* has been lost and the feminine third singular possessive substituted for it, but de Réart is eccentric in his use of possessives, giving *tro* for 'your' beside *tiro*, thy; *minro*, our; and *anro*, my. De Rochas is a mere echo: the other sources give him no support. The definite article is *o*, *u* masculine singular; *e*, *i* feminine singular (see vocabulary). Beside these the Romance *le* is used, and for the plural *ol*. De Réart and his copyist are again eccentric, giving *u* masculine, *o* feminine. Here they are perhaps right, as the proper feminine article in the recorded examples looks like a survival from better days.

Jek is used for an indefinite article beside the Romance *una*. *Jek* assumes, however, various forms, of which *ja* seems to be the norm (see *jek* in the vocabulary).

CONJUGATION

Verbs are frequently recorded with a Romance infinitive ending. Apart from this they preserve the Romani inflexions with but slight variations from standard. There seems to be no difference in meaning or use between the full and the apocopated terminations, but final *-a* often becomes *-e* when future time is to be expressed.

De Rochas, copying de Réart, gives the present tense of $\chi a-$, to eat, thus :

Sing. 1. <i>jane</i> ¹	Plural 1. <i>jasse</i>
2. <i>jasse</i>	2. <i>janes</i>
3. <i>jale</i>	3. <i>jane</i>

The second person plural may be a form of the imperfect, but one rather suspects de Réart of doctoring his material. His articles in the *Publicateur* were in the form of lessons for beginners. A comparison of the sources gives a better paradigm. It is not necessary to quote here every example :

Present Tense

Singular	1. <i>daba, racarav, donkaf, tgiabe</i>
	2. <i>villasa, pias, khasse</i>
	3. <i>sala, sal, asterla, del, dikele, dinela, querle</i>
Plural	1. <i>prosarasa, soubas, bechesa, khasse, mangaza, pre-khesarasan</i> (sic !)
	2. <i>pinjarena, khanes</i> (? imperfect)
	3. <i>prestana, tchingarena, karen, calene, tgyitne</i>

Past Tense

Singular	1. <i>khaillom, araquiom, penlom</i>
	2.
	3. <i>pandas, pellas, dinaz</i>
Plural	1. <i>achem</i>

Imperative

af, narique (negative), *de, dik, quer, lé, mun, prosar*

The Imperfect and Pluperfect Tenses are usually formed by adding *-as* to the Present and Past tenses respectively. Catalonian Romani retains this.

Imperfect: Plural 2. *khane* (?). 3. *assanas*

Pluperfect: Singular 1. *khaillomes, camiomés*
Plural 1. *khaillémis*.

¹ This is an extraordinary mistake.

SUMMARY

The main facts are now before the reader. It remains only to draw deductions of a general character. Von Sowa's conclusions afford a good guide.

1. In Catalanian Romani the older vocalization has broken down to a greater extent than in Spanish Romani.
2. While sharing with Spanish Romani in certain consonantal changes, such as that of ξ to χ , our dialect does not go so far as the former, and, generally speaking, the consonants and consonant groups are more primitive.
3. Catalanian Romani retains the old plural terminations which Spanish Romani has lost; and it does not misuse oblique cases of nouns as Spanish Romani does.
4. The pronouns are preserved almost perfectly.
5. The verbal inflexions are preserved almost perfectly. In Spanish Romani hardly at all.

To the foregoing we may add another striking characteristic:

6. Catalanian Romani shows in a vocabulary that extends to over four hundred words no undue proportion of words for which no etymology can be found; whereas the first impression conveyed by Spanish Romani is that of a jargon possibly one-half of which consists of words entirely strange both to Romani and to Spanish. A glance at the long string of words from Spanish Romani which are given by Pott at the end of each letter of the alphabet, and upon which he makes no comment, will convince the reader of the reality of this difference between that dialect and the one now laid before him.

Further detailed comparisons may well wait until the sources of our knowledge of Basque Romani have been collected and edited, and the Spanish dialect has been analysed. It is sufficient for the present to have corrected von Sowa's mistakes, added largely to the evidence in support of his conclusions, and established Catalanian Romani on a firmer foundation as a dialect distinct from and superior to Spanish Romani, without widening the scope of his inquiry.

There are, however, some subsidiary questions that must be put, even if they cannot all be answered satisfactorily. And, first, with regard to our authorities. Are they trustworthy? Obviously

they are none of them first-class witnesses. Bataillard does not seem to have been particularly interested in the language spoken by Gypsies. It was something of a freak on his part to collect words. Clearly, then, he had no linguistic axe to grind. He came to the task with a mind free from theories, and, better still, free from anything more than a superficial knowledge of the language. The more the student knows of Romani the poorer witness he becomes when he records words from a new dialect. He is forever expecting to hear that to which he is accustomed. He has an impulse towards emendation. Bataillard, then, should be a good witness. But, on the other hand, only the trained recorder can at once distinguish between similar sounds. The amateur, again, records sounds in a haphazard fashion with no very clear ideas as to how he means to express in letters any particular sound. His symbols are apt to vary in a perplexing way. This being the case, it is at least as well that he does not profess, like de Rochas, to follow any system. It is possible to make out what he meant to express, while with a recorder who starts with a system of spelling and does not always strictly keep to it, his professed system leads one astray the moment he lapses from the 'strait path.' On the whole, Bataillard is one of our best sources, but unfortunately his two lists are very short. Equally good, and happily longer, are the two lists (Ti. and Tii.) of M. Tathe. The Paternoster (Tiii.) labours under a heavy disadvantage. The handwriting of the manuscript was so difficult that I had to bring to bear on its decipherment all the knowledge of the language that I possess. Often I could not read a word until I had decided what it ought to be, or might probably be. I may have read my own preconceived ideas into the scrawl before me. The result is interesting, but to be used with caution. The attempt to follow the text accurately is an honest one; the result may none the less be an edited text. De Riubanys' list (Tiv.) suffers from bad handwriting, and confessedly Bataillard was often uncertain about his transcript. De Réart (P.) is a poor witness indeed. He claims to have taken down two of his sentences from the mouth of a Gypsy, but the bulk of his phrases have evidently been concocted to elucidate grammatical rules. They smell of the lamp. De Rochas (R.) is little, if at all, better. His own contribution is meagre. The bulk of his material is taken from de Réart, and, fatal policy, edited. He deduces some unlikely or impossible singulars from his predecessor's plurals, and yet care-

lessly copies obvious misprints. In both these sources we must beware of the mischief wrought by *o tsino benχ* in the printing office. MacRitchie is a careful recorder, but his words are too few to be of much assistance. Vallmitjana I suspect, perhaps unjustly, of knowing far less than he professes to know. I am not inclined to take his words very seriously. Romani dressed up in literature is too often a puppet adorned for the stage, but showing the paint in the glare of prosaic daylight.

Bataillard collected his words on the French side of the mountains. Ti. belongs to the same district. P., R., and M. apparently should be classed with these. Tii., Tiii., and V. are from the Spanish side. Is there any apparent difference in dialect? Can we speak of a French sub-dialect as distinct from a Barcelona sub-dialect? It is a notable fact that the misuse of some of the possessive pronouns is found in French sources, and is not supported, or even contradicted, by the Barcelona sources. The French sources sometimes use *a* where the others use older *e*. There is little that is positive, but there appears to be some indication pointing to a better preserved sub-dialect on the south side of the Pyrenees. Vallmitjana's words, however, point the other way, and this fact suggests a lamentable conclusion. If V. represents the state of Catalonian Romani at the present time, decay must have been at work since de Rochas wrote, and decay that bears witness to infection by Spanish Romani. Already in Tathe's collections there are two songs—one of them recorded in Mallorca—which are in Spanish Romani. It is to be feared that Dives has already given place to Lazarus, and that the Catalonian Romani displayed in this paper is no more. *Tumulo superaddite carmina!* but let them not be in Spanish Romani.

Lastly, will the reader refer to the words *develescidai*, *mamoutsa*, *saranda*, and *runjia* in the vocabulary, and, bearing in mind that de Rochas mentions having met bands of copper-smiths from Hungary, and that Wentworth Webster wrote of these wide-wandering nomads as travelling regularly into the Peninsula, can he find a better explanation of the presence of these four words in Catalonian Romani than that they are imported words from Eastern Europe, and that they belong not at all to the Gypsy speech of Catalonia, but rather to that of our strange visitors of some years ago? It is at least a pleasant theory, and may help as well to account for the presence of the Hungarian *szin*, colour, in this Peninsular dialect.

II. SENTENCES

All our sources, with the exception of Tiii., Tiv., and V., contain both isolated words and short phrases. Tiii. provides a continuous text which, with the sentences, goes some way towards supplying the deficiency lamented by von Sowa: 'mehr liesse sich natürlich aus zusammenhängenden Texten gewinnen, die uns aber fehlen.' All these phrases and sentences are collected together here, numbered under the reference symbols of the various sources. They are printed as they stand in the originals. Emendations and comments are added only where absolutely necessary; the vocabulary, used in conjunction with the table already given showing the orthographical peculiarities of the sources, supplies what is required by the reader in most cases.

- B.—1. Bonjour—le dit: *Mro Debel todel tout, latcho djives*.
 2. Dieu—*Debel, Baro Maxero* (ou *Maxaro*) le grand saint.
 C'est le Majaro (saint) de Borrow.
 3. Nous hommes ensemble—*Achem sere katene*.
 (We stayed all together.)
 4. Je sais parler en gitane—*man djinav taracarav: en calo,*
 ou romanës.
 5. Femme enceinte—*romni kami*.
 6. Dans la terre—*kayo tchik*.
 7. Dispute—*tchingare napen?*
 (The note of interrogation is Bataillard's. Read *tšingarena pen*, they quarrel.)
 Ti.—1. Il fait un beau clair de lune—*Kerta burudchumud*.
 (Read *ker'la*, and translate 'it makes a big moon'.)
 2. Chef—*cap padre*.
 (These words are Catalan. I exclude them from the vocabulary.)
 Tii.—1. Je t'aime—*du caba tut*.
 (In the Greek dialect (Paspatis, p. 217) the pronouns following *dukava* used in this sense are in the dative. Cf. below, sentence 19.)
 2. La charge tomba sur moi—*upre pellas idoj*.
 (Upon (me) fell the blame.)
 3. Que Dieu me protège (m'aime)—*Rodebel camela man*.
 (Cf. Tii. sentences 1, 13, 19, where *dukava*, I ache, is used for 'to love.' *kamava* properly means 'I want'.)

4. Viens avec moi—*af mansa*.
5. *Haiame jasa*—nous mangeons.
6. *Cai haia me asterlamen aqueia butze*—cette affaire à nous regarde :
(The Gypsy evidently began *kaj ajame* . . . and then went on *aster'la 'men akaja butsi*, it is we . . . this work seizes us. The construction secures emphasis on the pronoun.)
7. *Cralitza dinazamen mischti pen*—la reine nous donna la paix.
8. *Pinjaraba tut*—Je te connais.
9. *Aricaraba tuza*—Je parle avec toi.
10. *Tu me pinjaré nales*—Vous le saurez.
(Read *tume pinxarena les*.)
11. *Caraba chimoni tu mengue*—Je ferai quelquechose pour vous.
12. *Daba tu laf*—Je te donne parole, je vous promets.
13. *Ducala man but*—Il m'aime beaucoup.
14. *Dicabales quilico*—Je le verrai demain.
15. *Yon jana pengue*—Ils s'en vont.
16. *Jababa lengué*—Je viens pour eux.
17. *Araquiomblen cassanas*—Je l'ai trouvé riant.
(Read *arakjomb len k' asanas*, I found them that they were laughing. *Asanas* is Imperfect.)
18. *Yoy pandas mangué jare da blessa*—elle me dit: Adieu !
(Read *dža (mi)re-dablesa*. See the vocabulary under *rodebel*.)
19. *Ducaba laké*—Je l'aime.
20. *Me ducaba but cayoray*—J'aime beaucoup le seigneur.
21. *Amarorai*—N. S. J. C.
(*Scil.* Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ.)
22. *Pendom lengué dej-jiel butsa*—Je lui dis mille . . .
(The last word in the French is illegible. Translate 'I told them a thousand things'.)
23. *Dicaba len sad najadia*—Je les regarde comme perdus.
(One expects *sar*, but a second examination of the manuscript supports the reading given.)
24. *Narique mangé da caba*—Ne me parle pas de lui.
(Read *n' arike mange d' akaba*.)
25. *Aqui al que mène*—Aussi l'aime t'on.
(Read *kemene*, they love; but the sentence remains

somewhat obscure. The orthography of the French is quaint.)

Tiii.—Unfortunately this important source is barely legible, and must be received with caution. The handwriting presents many difficulties. Final *a* in the manuscript always has a flourish that looks like *d*, *l*, or *t*. The word *naf* has a flourish that looks like *o* or *s*. *Lamen* may be read *lassen*, *tassen*, *tamen*, or *tarren*. My adoption of the last must be taken as tentative.

As I read it the text runs thus: *Bato Amaro que a sia cabo anda naBò te abel Magaro chikilo Tro magaro naf te abel amende tro magaro crallis querles aray tiri du quy Ben andia ca rechik sar querle Pes ca nda nabo amaro Gumer le sar dzybes de mande les a ray Acaba chives pro sar man Amari doj sarame Prosarasa acolu que came lamen naquerle aray que . . . me peras a quec chorry Ben si . . . quereman Aray de Pari Pen an dia te abel mandabel.*

In normalized spelling with punctuation, as given below, it will be seen that Gimenes Coles did his best to produce a good translation of the Paternoster, and that he has been extraordinarily successful. Emendations and uncertain readings are placed in brackets.

In normalized spelling. *Bato amaro, ke asi akabo anda nabó, te abel maçaro tsikilo tro maçaro naf; te abel amende tro maçaro kraljis; ker les are tiri dukiben andi aka 're tsik, sar ker'la peska 'nda nabo; amaro çumer le sar dzibes de mande les are akaba tsives; prosar man amari doç, sar ame prosarasa akola ke k'ame (taren); na ker le are ke (na) me peras a kek tsoriben (. . .) kere man are de paripen andia. Te abel man, dabel.*

P.—In copying from the *Publicateur* I thoughtlessly translated the original French of the first eight sentences. I print these as they stand in my manuscript copy.

1. *Dekh ta duy manukhs*—twelve men.
2. *Bikh gatcia*—twenty women.
3. *Khel gatcia*—a hundred children.
4. *Pantch-khels tchabé*—five hundred boys.
5. *Dekh-khels tchaya*—a thousand girls.
6. *Ya khindi d'anré*—a dozen eggs.
7. *Duy khindia da pobbaya*—two dozen apples.

8. *Me khaillom duy khindia-ta-khof da zétalia*—I have eaten two 'quinzaines' of olives.
9. *Kinele ya khindi-ta-trin khalia*—acheter une quinzaine de figues.
10. *Ya doble strengari*—une quadruple d'Espagne.
11. *Ya pakh béde strengari*—une demi-quadruple.
12. *Ya doble kardi*—une piécette.
13. *Kotci aka grast ?*—combien ce cheval ?
14. *Lée sut dà gurusni, da kharni*—accepter du lait de vache, d'ânesse.
15. *Ya kuro da paignin*—une cruche d'eau.
16. *U cherriclo dau beg*—l'oiseau de la montagne.
17. *U khundunari dò craillis*—le soldat du roi.
18. *Ol kingaria d'òl makharé*—les églises des saints.
19. *Tggiane ao érés talen arakha*—aller à la vigne chercher des raisins. (Read *ta len*.)
20. *Ao tgibiben t' à ó marriben*—à la vie et à la mort.
21. *Mé chum khundunari*—je suis soldat.
22. *Yamé chum dekh*—nous sommes dix.
23. *Yone assilen trakh*—ils ont peur. (Read *asi len*, is to them.)
24. *Mun man tro grast*—prêtez-moi votre cheval.
25. *Rut da bel dikèle men*—Dieu vous voit.
26. *Mé ducaba tot*—je l'aime. (Read *t'aime*.)
27. *Mé panabé tumén ké karéle kam*—je vous dirai qu'il fait chaud.
28. *Tro grast tgiabé lé blés*—votre cheval, j'irai le chercher. (Read *leb les*, to get it.)
29. *Tri tggouri tgiabé là blés*—votre mule, j'irai la voir. (Read *as* in 28.)
30. *Tré khalia mé len khaillomes*—vos figues, je les mangerai.
31. *Anré pralé*—mes frères.
32. *Tirò mol*—ton vin.
33. *Tiri ker*—ta maison.
34. *Pescarò rocamlo*—son ami.
35. *Pescari piuli*—sa veuve.
36. *Pescaré pacpralé*—ses cousins.
37. *Minrò utzem*—notre pays.
38. *Trò trupos*—votre corps.
39. *Lacrò khumbert*—leur pain.
40. *Tri garò*—votre tête.

41. *Tré pinré*—vos pieds.
42. *O ker d'anri tday*—la maison de ma mère.
43. *Ya buke da tro khúmbert*—un morceau de votre pain.
44. *U grast ol tggiurià d'ol mussurs dà tro kak*—le cheval, les mules des écuries de votre oncle.
45. *Ya luli da tré bibi*—le bonnet de votre tante.
46. *Ol tchabié t'ol tchabaré da tré bibia*—les poules et les poulets de vos tantes.
47. *Pias paignin da lacri ganik*—boire de l'eau de leur fontaine.
48. *Khala lambrolé dá pescaro kunitzza*—manger des poires de son panier.
49. *Ya mé khaillémis da lacri mas*—nous ne mangerions pas de leur viande. (We had eaten of her meat.)
50. *Aka tciros*—ce ciel.
51. *Akoba cherriklo*—cette oiseau.¹
52. *Akay' elén*—cette rivière.
53. *Jabe takhaf ban akala kriassi*—je mangerais bien ces cerises.
54. *Akalá drakha assin d'anr' érés*—ces raisins sont de sa vigne.
55. *Akaya tgiouv sin por tiré tgiuria*—cette avoine est pour ses mules.
56. *Akabá sin tarnó, akabà sin puro*—ceci est jeune, cela est vieux.
57. *Pescari tday sin akali ké . . .*—sa mère est celle qui . . .
58. *Tré tchaya assin akalé ké . . .*—vos filles sont celles qui . . .
59. *Tgiane, avène, assalzibés prestana ta vaygissarle aka sin minri tgiviven*—aller, venir, toujours courir et voyager c'est notre vie.
60. *Dik kabó manukh baró*—voyez quel homme grand.
61. *Dik kabi gatci tcini*—voyez quelle femme petite.
62. *Dik kabé tchaya bania*—voyez quelles filles jolies.
63. *Mé nay panave tchilchy*—je ne dirai rien.
64. *Nassire tchy?*—ses défauts? (The Romani is obscure. Read perhaps *n' asi 're tši*, there is nothing in it. Mr. Winstedt suggests that it may be *n' asi letchi*, it is not good.)
65. *Rut da bel dikel' assa*—Dieu voit tout.
66. *Na kamiomes da berh*—je n'en voudrais jamais d'autre.
67. *Aka mol sin u yù*—ce vin est le même.
68. *Mé panave tchimuny*—je dirai quelque chose.

¹ I must disclaim responsibility for several solecisms in the French of the authors quoted.

69. *Akaba nay men karéle tchiltchy*—cela ne vous fait rien.
(Read 'nous.')
70. *Prekhé sarasan Rut-da-Bel dikel' assa*—il faut prier Dieu, il voit tout.
71. *Trupos tsano*—corps mince.
72. *Mischtó kardi*—taille mince ou bien faite.
73. *Garò barò*—tête haute.
74. *Uyak gvido ta kaló*—œil vif et noir.
75. *Dane parné*—dents blanches.
76. *Muy ta bals kali*—visage et cheveux noirs.
77. *Garà ta pinré schucrokhili (vel kuki)*—jambes et pieds secs ou maigres.
78. *U bal do muy*—barbe.
79. *Ol bals dau garo*—cheveux.
80. *Tchabó guló*—garçon docile.
81. *Yek rum urró*—un homme seul.
82. *Yon sin urré*—ils sont seuls.
83. *Kabi ore sin ?*—quelle heure est il ?

R.—Several of de Rochas' sentences are based on those already given from the *Publicateur*. I supply reference numbers because they illustrate the way in which de Rochas treated his material.

1. *Iek, ta duy, ta trin, ta star.*
Chai, me camaba tut ;
Na si kek sar tut.

Un et deux et trois et quatre.
Fille, je t'aime ;
Aucune est comme toi.

2. Teint jaune—*tzin ghélo.*
3. Teint rouge—*tzin lulo.*
4. Teint noir—*tzin kalo.*
5. Teint blanc—*tzin parno.*
6. Corps mince—*trupos tzano.* (P. 71.)
7. Taille fine—*mischto kardi.* (P. 72.)
8. Tête haute—*jéro baro.* (P. 73.)
9. Œil vif et noir—*uïak gido ta kalo.* (P. 74.)
10. Dents blanches—*dané parné.* (P. 75.)
11. Visage noir—*mui kalo.* (P. 76.)
12. Jambes maigres—*gara kukia.* (P. 77.)

13. Barbe noire—*bal dau mui kalo*. (P. 78.)
14. Cheveux blancs—*bal dau jéro parno*. (P. 79.)
15. Pistolet—*tcinopuskia*.
16. Il a plu—*dinela brijindo*.
17. Je crains—*me traj*.
18. J'ai vu—*me dikela*. (He sees me.)
19. Je mange—*me jané*.
20. Tu manges—*tu jasse*.
21. Il mange—*jof jale*.
22. Nous mangeons—*yame jasse*.
23. Vous mangez—*tume janes*.
24. Ils mangent—*yon jane*.
25. Le soldat du roi—*u jundunari do crallis*. (P. 17.)
26. Une cruche d'eau—*ia kuro da pani*. (P. 15.)
27. À la vie et à la mort—*ao tgibiben, t'ao marriben*. (P. 20.)
28. 1 soldat—*iek jundunari*.
29. 2 soldats—*dui jundunaris*.
30. Une douzaine—*ia xindi*. (P. 6.)
31. Un œuf—*iek anro*.
32. Deux douzaines d'œufs—*dui xindia d'anré*. (P. 6 and 7.)
33. Cette fille est blanche—*akaya chay si parna*.
34. Vos filles sont blanches—*tré chaya sin parné*.
35. Homme grand—*rom vel manusch baro*.
36. Bien fait—*mischto kardo*. (P. 72.)
37. Hommes grands—*romé vel manuschs baré*.
38. Hommes bien faits—*romé vel manuschs mischto kardé*.
39. Femme grande—*romi vel gadzi bari*.
40. Femmes grandes—*romia vel gadzia baria*.
41. Bonjour—*lacho dives*.
42. Bonne nuit—*lachi rat*.

III. VOCABULARY

The following vocabulary is arranged under catchwords in normalized spelling with the meaning in English added. Then every form of the word that has been recorded is given with references to the various sources. P. and R. often agree, except that R. omits the accents. Thus, for example, the entry 'P.R. *akabá*' must be read 'P. *akabá*; R. *akaba*.'

Words usually beginning with *š* in other dialects should be

looked for under χ . Derivatives are inserted under their words of origin.

a, to. Tiii. P.R. From Catalan.

au, to the (m.). P.R.

ao, to the (f.). R.

aul, to the (pl.). P.R.

aka, this. Tiii. *aca*; P. *aka*. Mik., vii. 5.

akabá, this, that. Tii. *acabá*; Tiii. *acaba*; P.R. *akabá*.

akabo, there. Tiii. *acabo*.

akala, these. P.R.

akalé, those. P.R.

akali, that. P.R.

akaja, this (f.). Tii. *aqueia*, *akai a*; P.R. *akaya*; R. *akaia*.

akoba, this thing. P. *akoba*; R. *akuba*.

akobi, these things. P. *akobi*; R. *akubi*.

akola, those. Tiii. *acola*.

aki, lo! (?). Tii. *aqui*, 'ainsi.'

alob-, to weep. Tiv. *alober*; V. *uribinyá*. Cf. Span. R. *orobar*.

Mik., viii. 59 *rov*.

ambrol, pear. Tiv. *nembrol* (with Catalan indefinite article).

P. *lambrole* (pl. with Catalan indefinite article). Mik., vii. 6.

amé, we. Tii. *ayame*, *haiame*; Tiii. *ame*; P. *yamé*. Mik., vii. 6.

amen. Tii. *amen*; Tii. P. *men*.

amende. Tiii.

amaró, our. Tii. *amaró*; Tiii. *amaro*. Mik., vii. 6.

amari, our (f.). Tiii. See *minro* under *me*.

anda, in. Tiii. *anda*, *andi*, *nda*. Mik., vii. 7.

anja, nine. Tii. *añya*; Tiv. *agño*; P. *agnia*; R. *esnia*. Mik., vii.

52 *enea*.

anró, egg. Tiv. *enré* (pl.), *enrí* (pl.); P.R. *anré* (pl.). R. *anro*.

Mik., vii. 93 *vando*.

anró, my. P. *anró*, *anrí* (f.), *anré* (pl.). Cf. *minro* under *me*.

arak-, to find. Tii. *araquiomb*, I found. Mik., viii. 54 *rakh*.

aran, stick. B. *a ran*. Mik., viii. 55 *ran*.

arani, lady. Ti. Mik., viii. 54, s.v. *raj*.

aranj, silver (? gold). P.R. *arany*. From Hungarian. P. quotes the word, but does not attribute it to Romani. R. seems to have misunderstood him.

aratsi, night. Ti. *aretzi*; Tiv. *aratesi*; P. *arazzi*; R. *razzi*, *rat*.

Mik., viii. 56 *rat*.

aré, in. Tiii. *aray*, 're. Mik., vii. 7 *andre*.
arika-, to talk. Tii. *arika-raba*, I talk. *narique*, do not speak;
 B. *aracarav*, I speak. Mik., viii. 92 *vaker*.
as-, to laugh. Tii. *cassanas* for *k' asanas*, who were laughing;
 Tiv. *sal*, laughs, *se sala*, he laughs. See *se*. Mik., vii. 10.
asa, all. P.R. *assa*; P. *asse* (f.). Mik., viii. 63 *savoro*.
asatsibés, always. P. *assalzibés* (a misprint).
aster-, to seize. Tii. *aster'la*, seizes. Mik., vii. 11 *astar*.
asteriben, prison. Ti. *asteribain*; Tiv. *steriben*.
aš-, to stay. B. *achem*, we stayed. Mik., vii. 4 *ač*.
av-, to come. Tii. *af*, come! *hababa*, I come; Tiii. *abel*, comes;
 P. *avéne*, they come; R. *villasa*, we come. Mik., vii. 12.
aver, other. See *ber*.

baino, duck. Tiv. *hebainou*. Perhaps from *pa[p]ino*. Mik., viii. 31.

baçi, fortune. R. *baji*. Cf. Span. R. *bachí*. Mik. vii. 14 *bacht*.

bal, hair. B. Ti. Tiv. P.R. *bal*; P. *bals* (pl.). Mik., vii. 15.

balitšo, pig. B. P. *balitcho*; R. *balicho*. Mik., vii. 15 *balo*.

bališni, sow. R. *balischni*.

balabas, lard. R.

baluné, trousers. B. *bolouni*; Tiv. *balouné*. Romance.

ban, well. P. Cf. Catalan, *ben*; French, *bien*; Spanish, *buen*.

See *bano*.

banço, twisted. P. *bankho*. For *bango*. Mik., viii. 38.

bano, pretty. P.R. *bano*, *bania* (pl.). Cf. Catalan, *bon*; Spanish, *bueno*. Probably distinct from Span. R. *bano*, bay (colour).

bar, stone. Tiv. *bar*, *hyebar*. Mik., vii. 16.

barbal, wind. Tiv. *barbal*; R. *barban*. Cf. Span. R. *barbal*, *barban*. Mik., vii. 16 *balval*.

barbalji, evening. Tiv. *barballi*; P. *barbaille*. Pott, ii. 418. Mik., vii. 21 *biaveli*.

barbaló, rich. P.R. *barbalò*. Mik., vii. 16 *baravalo*.

barbi, *baril*, pretty. V.

barko, ram. Ti. *yabarco*; Tii. *barco*; Tiv. *barcou*; R. *barko*. Mik., vii. 15 *bakro*.

barki, sheep. Ti. *yabargui*; Tii. *barki*; Tiv. *hibarky*; R. *barki*. Cf. Basque R. *barki*. Span. R. *braki*.

baro, big. B. *baro*; *ia baro*, a king; Ti. *buru*; Tii. *baro*, tall; P.R. *baro*; R. *baro*, mountain; *borogaf*, town; *baribu*, much. Mik., vii. 17. See also under *but*.

- bast*, hand. Ti. *yabast*; Tiv. P.R. *bast*; P. *basts* (pl.). Mik., viii. 94 *vast*.
- bato*, father. Ti. *battou*; Tiv. *batou*; Tiii. P. *bato*. Cf. Span. R. and Basque R. *bato*. See *dado*.
- beda*, stars. Ti. *yabeda*. Cf. Pott, ii. 403.
- béde*, double. P. *ya pakh béde strengari*, half a dubloon. Cf. Pott, ii. 403.
- beχ*, forest. P. *beg*, mountain. For the spelling cf. *berg* (= *berχ* = *berš*). So *beg* = *beχ* = *beš* or *veš*. Forest and mountain may well be convertible terms in the Pyrenees as they are in the Carpathians. Mik., viii. 95 *veš*. But cf. Pott, ii. 411 *breji*; ii. 294 *torbergeli*.
- bendisar-*, to sell. R. *bendisarar*. Catalan, *vendre*.
- benχ*, devil. B. *benkh*; R. *benx*. Mik., vii. 18 *beng*.
- ber*, other. P. *berh*; *berhs* (pl.). For *aver*.
- berχ*, year. Tiv. *berg*. Mik., vii. 19 *berš*.
- betš-*, to sit. R. *bechesa*, to live, lit. we sit. Mik., vii. 20 *beš*.
- bibi*, aunt. P. *bibi*; *bibia* (pl.); R. *bibi*. Mik., vii. 21.
- biχ*, twenty. Tii. *bij*; P. *bikh*; R. *bij*. Mik., vii. 22 *biš*.
- bosni*. See *busno*.
- briχindo*, rain. Tiv. *berjindo*; R. *brijindo*. Mik., vii. 24 *brišin*.
- bruχi*, real (a Spanish coin). R. *bruji*. Cf. Pott, i. 52.
- budar*, door. Tiv. *boudar*. Mik., viii. 97 *vudar*.
- bukali*, pipe. Tiv. *hiebukaly*. Cf. perhaps Spanish *bocal*, mouth-piece of a wind instrument.
- bukalo*, glass, tumbler. Tiv. *boucalou*. Paspatis, 189 *bukla*.
- buke*, a morsel. P. Cf. Catalan, *boct*.
- buko*, liver. Tiv. *bouko*. Mik., vii. 25.
- buskesar-*, to seek. R. *busqueseren*, to seek, lit. we seek. Catalan, *buscar*.
- busnó*, goat. When applied to a non-Gypsy it means man. P. *busnò*, man. Mik. vii. 26 *buzno*.
- busni*, she-goat, woman. Ti. *yabosni*, she-goat. P. *busní*, woman.
- but*, much. Tii. *but*. Tiv. *boutharbarou*, abundance, for *but ta baro*, much and big. R. *bu*, *baribu*. Mik., vii. 26. For *baribu* see Pott, ii. 414.
- butsi*, affair. Tii. *butze*; *butsa* (pl.). Mik., vii. 26 *buti*.
- butšern-*, to discharge a gun. R. *buchernar*. Cf. perhaps *puška*.

- da*, of. Tii. *d'*; Tiii. *de*, from; P. *da*; *do*, of the; *d'ol*, of the (pl.); R. *du*, *do*, of; *do*, *dau*, of the; *da*, of the (f.); *dol*, of the (pl.); M. *do*, of the. Catalan.
- da-*, to give. B. *del*, gives; Tii. *daba*, I give; *dinaz*, gave; Tiii. *de*, give! Mik., vii. 39. See *din-*.
- dabel*, God. See *rodebel*.
- dad*, father. B. *dat debel*, God. R. *dado*. Mik., vii. 40 *dad*. See *bato*.
- dai*, mother. Tiv. *day*; P. *tday*; R. *daï*; M. *daï*. M. also gives *daï*, mayor, due, as he explains, to confusion between French *mère* and *maire*. Mik., vii. 40 *daj*.
- dant*, tooth. P. *dane* (pl.); R. *dant*. Mik., vii. 41 *dand*.
- debel*, God. See *rodebel*.
- dex*, ten. B. *dekh*; Tii. Tiv. *dej*; P. *dekh*; R. *dej*, *déja*. Mik., vii. 42 *deš*.
- dex-xel*, a thousand. Tii. *dej-jel*, *dej-jiel*; R. *dès-ta-jel*.
- develeskri*. See under *rodebel*.
- dik-*, to see. Tii. *dicaba*, I shall see; *dicaba len*, I regard them; P. *dikèle*, sees; *dik*, see! R. *me dikela*, I have seen, lit. he sees me. Mik., vii. 43 *dikh*.
- dikló*, cravat. Tiv. *dicló*. Mik., vii. 43.
- dilino*, small coin. Tiv. 'a quarto'; P.R. 'a sou.' Mik., vii. 43 *dinilo*, foolish.
- din-*, to give. R. *dinela*, gives; V. *adinyar*. Cf. Span. R. *diñar*. See *da-*.
- doble*, double. P. Catalan, *doble*.
- dox*, blame. Tii. *idoj*; Tiii. *doj*. Cf. Span. R. *dochí*. Mik., vii. 45 *doš*.
- drak*, raisin, grape. Ti. *yadrak*; *trana* or *traua* (pl.), (Bataillard found the word illegible); Tiv. *draká* (pl.); P. *drakha* (pl.); *arakha* (pl.), (a misprint); R. *araxa* (copying the misprint in P.). Mik., vii. 46 *drakh*.
- drom*, road. Tiv. *jetdrom*. Mik., vii. 46.
- dudum*, gourd. Tiv. *doudoum*. Mik., vii. 46.
- dui*, two. Tii. *dui*, *dué*; Tiv. *dui*; P.R. *duy*; R. *dui*. Mik., vii. 47 *duj*.
- duengri*, a small coin. Tiv. *hiduengry*, 'piécette.'
- duk-*, to love. Tii. *ducaba*, I love; *ducala*, he loves; Tiv. *doukaf*, I love; P. *ducaba*, I love. Mik., vii. 47 *dukh*.
- dukiben*, will. Tiii. *du quy Ben*.
- dungari*, twenty franc piece. P. Cf. Pott, i. 52 *duquiles*.

- duriaf*, sea. Tiv. P.R. Mik., vii. 43 *devrjal*.
dut, light. P.R. Mik., vii. 46 *dud*.
dzibes, day. B. *djives*; Ti. *dzibes*; Tiv. *dibès*; P. *tzibés*; R. *dives*.
 Mik., vii. 44 *dives*. See *sajetsibés*.
dzibasé, in the morning. Tiv. *zibasē*; P. *tzibasé*.
dža-, to go. Tii. *jana*, they go; P. *jabe*, *tgiabé*, I go; *tgiane*, we go; V. *atxalar*. Mik., vii. 48.
džif, wheat. B. *giuf*; Tiv. *gif*. Pott, ii. 67. Mik., vii. 56 *giv*.
džin-, to know. B. *djinav*, I know. Mik., vii. 49 *džan*.
džingaló, ugly. P.R. *tgingalo*. Mik., vii. 38 *čungalo*.
 [*dživ-*, to live.] Mik., vii. 50.
džido, lively. P. *ggido*; R. *gido*.
dživiben, life. P. *tgibiben*, *tgiviven*; R. *tgibiben*.
džof, oats. Tiv. *djouf*; P. *tgiov*. Mik., vii. 51, *džov*. Pott, ii. 214.
džukel, dog. Tii. Tiv. *djukel*; P.R. *tgiukel*; P. *tgiukels* (pl.); V. *xuguelet*. Mik., vii. 51.
džukli, bitch. Tii. *djukli*; R. *tgiukli*.
džuralo, strong. R. *tgiuralo*. Mik., viii. 98, s.v. *zor*.
džuro, mule. B. *djouro*; Ti. Tii. *djuro*; Tiv. *djero*; R. *tgiuro*.
 Mik., vii. 51 *džoro*.
džuri (f.). Tii. *djuri*; Tiv. *itdjouri*; P.R. *tggiuri*; P. *tgiuria* (pl.).

eftá, seven. Tii. *ephtá*; Tiv. *phita*; P. *haftha*; R. *efta*. Mik., vii. 52.
elén, river. Tiv. *hyelen*; P.R. *elén*. Mik., viii. 6 *len*.
en, in. B. Catalan.
eres, vine. P. *érés*. Cf. Span. R. *resi*, *eresia*. Mik., viii. 57 *rez*.

forú, town. P.R. *forù*. Mik., vii. 53 *foros*.

gadžó, non-Gypsy. M. *gadjó*. Mik., vii. 53. See *gatsi*.
gaf, village. Tiv. *hingaf*; P.R. M. *gaf*; R. *borogaf*, town. Mik., vii. 54 *gav*.
garibel-, to talk, say. V. *garibelar*.
gasni, hen. R. Mik., vii. 70 *kahni*. See *kani*.
gat, shirt. B. *ia gat*; Tiv. *gad*, *got*. Mik., vii. 53 *gad*.
gatsi, woman. Tiv. *gotzi*; P. *gatici*; *gaticia* (pl.); R. *gadzi*. See *gadžo*.
gatsini, family. B. *gadsini*; Ti. *gazini*, many children; Tiv. *gatzina*, child; P. *gaticia*, children; R. *gadzini*, children. Cf. Basque R. *gacina*. A strange form apparently confined to these two Pyrenean dialects.

- gélo*, yellow. P.R. *ghélo*.
- gil-*, to sing. B. *gillaf*, a song, lit. I sing; Ti. *guillabal*, he sings; R. *gilien*, a song, lit. they sing. Mik., vii. 56, s.v. *gili*.
- gisobi*, purse. R. *guisobi*. Cf. Span. R. *quisobu*. Pott, ii. 118.
- grast*, horse. B. *ia grass*; Ti. *yagrais*; Tii. *grast*; Tiv. *hagarast*; P.R. *grast*; R. *gras*; M. *gräi*, grass, *grast*, *grash*, *grasht*. Mik., vii. 58.
- grasni*, mare. Ti. *ygresgni*; *ygrasgna* (pl.); Tiv. *hiegarasni*; R. *grasni*. Cf. Basque R. *crashnia*.
- guló*, docile, sweet. P.R. *gulò*. Mik., vii. 58 *gudlo*.
- gulus*, calf. Tiv. *goulus* or *gruzus*. Bataillard found the word illegible. Read perhaps *guluf*. Cf. *guruf*.
- guruf*, ox. Tii. *graf*; Tiv. *goruf*; R. *guru*, *guruf*. Mik., vii. 58 *guruv*.
- guruvni*, cow. Tiv. *gourouvni*; P.R. *gurusni*. See *gulus*.
- gušti*, ring. B. *ia goushti*. Mik., vii. 9 *anguštri*.
- gušto*, finger-nail. Tiv. *guchto*; P. *guschstè* (pl.); R. *guschté*. Mik., vii. 9 *angušt*.
- gutsi*, brain. P.R. *gutzi*. Mik., vii. 56 *godì*.
- χα-*, to eat. Tii. *jasa*, we eat; Tiv. *jas*, we eat; P. *khaillom*, I have eaten; *khaillomes*, I had eaten; *khaillémis*, we had eaten; *khaf*, I eat; *khala*, eats. P. gives the paradigm S. 2 *khasse*, 3 *khale*; Pl. 1 *khasse*, 2 *khanes*, 3 *khane*. R. copies this paradigm, substituting *j* for *kh*. He also has *janar*, to eat; *me jane*, I eat; V. *jala*. Mik., vii. 59 *cha*.
- χali*, fig. Tiv. *jailla* (pl.); P. *khalia* (pl.); R. *jali*. Paspatis, 312 *khelí*.
- χανjik*, well, fountain. Tiv. *hajañil*; P.R. *ganik*. Mik., vii. 61 *chaning*.
- χανro*, sword. Tiv. *jenrou*; P. *kunrò*. Mik., vii. 61 *chando*.
- χaroì*, leg. Ti. *hharoï*; Tiv. *jará* (pl.); P.R. *garà* (pl.). Mik., vii. 55 *ger*.
- χel*, hundred. Tii. *jel*, *jiel*; P. *khel*; *khels* (pl.); R. *jel*; *jels* (pl.). Mik., viii. 71 *šel*.
- χelo*, cord. Tiv. *jalo*; *jeli* (pl.); P. *khélo*; R. *jelo*. Cf. Span. R. *chal*. Mik., viii. 71 *šelo*.
- χenjardi*, hours. Tiv. *jeñardy*.
- χenlí*, bonnet. Tiv. *hijenlí*. Bataillard was not sure about the *j* in copying this word. If we may assume that he mistook *ra* for *n* we get *χeralí*. Cf. Mik., viii. 71, s.v. *šero*.

xer, ass. Ti. *iager*; Tii. *jert*; Tiv. *hijer*; R. *jer*. Mik., vii. 79
kher.

xernji, donkey. Ti. *yagarñi*; *garña* (pl.); Tii. *jerni*; P.
kharni; R. *jerni*.

xeró, head. Ti. *schro*; P. *garò*; R. *jéro*; V. *garó*. Mik., viii. 71
šero.

xil, cold. Tiv. *jil*, *sil*. Mik., viii. 72 *šil*. Cf. *šukro-xilo*.

xindi, a dozen. P. *hhindi*; *khindia* (pl.); R. *xindi*; *xindia* (pl.).

xof, six. Tii. *sof*; Tiv. *yof*; P. *khof*; R. *jof*, *jov*. Mik., viii. 73
šov.

xoxan-, to deceive. See *kuxov-*.

xuxui, hare. Tiv. *hajoujoui*. Mik., viii. 73 *šošov*.

xukar, sweet, pretty. Tiv. *sijoukar*, pretty girl, lit. she is pretty;
P.R. *kukar* (probably a misprint for *khukar*). Mik., viii. 74
šukar.

xumer, bread. Tiii. *gumer*; P. *khumbert*. Mik., vii. 64 *chomer*.

xun-, to hear. R. *junen*, lit. they hear; *junela*, to feel, lit. hears.
Mik., viii. 70 *šun*.

xundunari, soldier. Tiv. *jundunarib* (marked illegible by Batail-
lard); P. *khundunari*; R. *jundunari*. Pott, ii. 172.

xut, vinegar. Tiv. *jut*. Mik., viii. 75 *šut*.

xuv-, to know. R. *jubela*, lit. he knows.

i, the (f.). For possible instances see under *elen*, *eres*, *dox*, *imen*,
and *jek*.

if, ice. Tiv. *hif*. Mik., vii. 66 *iv*.

imen, neck. P. *o imen*; R. *imen*. Mik., viii. 15 *men*.

[*is-*, to be.] Tiii. *a si*, thou art; Tiv. *sijoukar*, pretty girl, lit. is
pretty; P. *chum*, I am; *chum*, we are; *sin*, is; *sin*, they
are; *assi*, there is; *yone assilen*, they have; *assin*, are;
nassire tchy read perhaps *n' assi 're tši*, there is not
on him anything; R. *si*, is; *sin*, are.

Note that apparently *chum* is to be pronounced *tšum*.

jak, eye. Tiv. *ka* (pl.); P. *uiak*; *kurriakater*, blind of one eye;
R. *uka*. Mik., vii. 67 *jakh*.

jak, fire. Tiv. *hyak*; P. *iakh*; *iakha* (pl.); R. *iak*. Mik., vii. 67 *jag*.

jek, one. Also used for the indefinite article, generally in a mutilated
form. Some of the examples given may really be cases of
the survival of the Romani definite article feminine.
B. *ia*, *a*; Ti. *ya*, *yia*, *y*; Tii. *yeck*, *hiee*, *ya*; Tiv. *hiee*, *ya*,

he, hi, hie, ha, hia, i, hye; P. *yek, ya, ye*; R. *iek, ia, ié*.

Mik., vii. 68.

jof, he. Tii. *yof*; P. *yo*; R. *yof, yo*. Mik., viii. 27 *ov*. See *el*.

les (acc.). Tii. Tiii.

joi, she. Tii. *yoy*; P. *yof*.

lake (dative). Tii. *laké*; Tiv. *lake*.

jon, they. Tii. P.R. *yon*; P.R. *yone* (f.).

len (acc.). Tii. P.R.

lenge (dative). Tii. *lengué*; Tiv. *lengue*.

ju, the same. P. *yu* (m.), *yè* (f.).

ka, what, what a, that. P.R. Mik., vii. 39. See *ke*.

ka, there (?). Tiii. *ca*.

kabanitsa, hostess. Ti. *cabanitse*.

kabó, what a. P. *kabó*; *kabé* (f.); *kabià* (pl. m.); *kabe* (pl. f.);

R. *kabo*; *kabi* (f.), *kabia* (pl.).

kaboka, some. P. *kaboka*; *kabiaka* (pl.); R. copies, but transposes the numbers.

kabi k' yek, some that. P.

kabika, some one that (f.). P.

kabé ka, some that (f. pl.). P.

kabik' ye, some one. P.R.

kabia k' yeks, some people. P.

kabé k' yes, some people (f.). P.

o kabó, which, that which. P.R.

R. copies most of the foregoing with unimportant variations in spelling.

kai, this. Tii. *cay*.

kak, uncle. P.R. Mik., vii. 70.

kal-, to dance. Ti. *calené*, a dance, lit. they dance; Tiv. *kel*, a dance, lit. he dances. Mik., vii. 78 *khel*.

kalin, chest. P.R. Mik., vii. 85 *kolin*.

kaljekom, hot. Tiv. *kallecom*. The handwriting of this source was not very legible to Bataillard. Perhaps *tatto cam*, meaning 'a hot sun.'

kaló, black. B. *en calo*, in the Gypsy language; Tii. *calò*; Tiv. *kalo*; P.R. *kald*; P. *kali* (f.); M. *kaló*, the Gypsy language, black, a Gypsy, coffee. Mik., vii. 71.

kaloro, a Gypsy. Tii. *calorro*.

kam-, to want, love. Tii. *camela*, loves; P. *kamiomes*, I had wanted; R. *camaba*, I love; *camelar*, to get married. Mik., vii. 71. See *duk*.

- kam*, sun. B. *kham*; Ti. *ocam*; o *kam*; Tiv. o *kam*; P. *kam*;
R. *cam*. Mik., vii. 77 *kham*. Cf. *kaljekom*.
- kami*, enceinte. B. Mik., vii. 77 *khabni*.
- kan*, ear. Tiv. *kan*; P. *ol kan* (pl.); R. *kan*; *kane* (pl.). Mik., vii. 72.
- kani*, hen. Tiv. *cani*. Cf. Basque R. *kani*. See *gasni*.
- kantisar-*, to sing. R. *canticeren*, lit. they sing. Cf. Catalan *cantar*.
- kar-*, to do, make. Ti. *kerta*, it makes (read *ker'la*); Tii. *caraba*, I shall make; Tiii. *querles*, make it! *querle pes*, it is done, lit. it does itself; *quere*, do! *naquer*, don't do! Tiv. *keréle*, makes; R. *karen*, to do, lit. they do. Mik., vii. 75 *ker*.
- kardo*, made. R. *kardo*; P.R. *kardi* (f.); P. *ya doble kardi*, 'une piécette' (small Spanish coin).
- karab-*, to cook. R. *carabar*. Mik., vii. 83 *kirav*.
- karikló*, mad. P. *karrikld*. Cf. Span. R. *cari*, vehement, ardent.
- kašt*, wood. B. *kasch*, tree, stick; Tiv. *kascht*, forest; R. *cascht*, wood (material); V. *cat*, stick. Mik., vii. 74.
- katene*, together. B. Mik., viii. 80, s.v. *than*.
- katsa*, scissors. Tii. *yacatza*; R. *cachais*. Mik., vii. 75 *kat*.
- katšar-*, to burn. R. *se cacharela*, it burns. Mik., vii. 60 *chaçar*.
- ke*, who (relative), that. Tii. *cassanas*, that they were laughing; P. *ke*; R. *ké*; Tiii. *que*. Mik., vii. 69 *ka*. See *ka*. There may well be some confusion with Catalan *que*.
- ke*, in. B. *kayo tchik*, in the earth.
- kek*, none. Tii. *quech*; Tiii. *quec*; P.R. *kek*; *keki* (f.); *keké* (pl.); P. gives the last as plural feminine, and adds *keks* for plural masculine.
- kelbá*, prune. Tiv. *kellbá*. Paspatis, 285 *kiláv*.
- ker*, house. Tiv. *hiakère*; Tiv. P.R. *ker*. Mik., vii. 79 *kher*.
- kiliko*, to-morrow. Tii. *quilico*. Pott, ii. 107.
- kin-*, to buy. P. *kinele*, he buys; R. *kinar*. Mik., vii. 83.
- kind-*, to divide. R. *kinder*.
- kingari*, church. Tiv. *kengry*; P. *kingaria* (pl.); R. *kingari*. Mik., vii. 73 *kangeri*.
- kinzardo*, wet. P.R. Participle of a verb **kinzar-*. Mik., viii. 84 *tindo*.
- kokali*, bone. R. *cocali*. Von Sowa is mistaken in attributing this meaning to *kuki*, q.v. sub *šuko*. Mik., vii. 85 *kokalo*.
- komoní*, some one. Tii. *comoní*.
- kontrisar-*, to meet. R. *contrisarar*, lit. we meet. Catalan *encontrar*.

koró, blind. Tiv. *corró*; P.R. *kurrò*; *kurriakater*, blind of one eye. Mik., vii. 86. Cf. the phrase in Paspatis, 293 *kórjovel jeké jakátar*, he becomes blind of one eye, quoted in Mik., xii. 43 as an unusual use of the ablative.

kotsi, how much? P. *kotci*. Mik., vii. 77 *keti*.

kraljis, king. Tiii. *crallis*, kingdom; P. *craillis*; R. *crallis*. Mik., vii. 87 *kralis*.

kralitsa, queen. Tii. *cralitza*.

kriasi, cherries. P. *kriassi*. J. G. L. S., v. 215.

kuki, thin. See *šuko*.

kuxov-, to lie, deceive. R. *cujoben*, lit. they lie; *hokkanar*, to deceive; V. *cujabar*. Mik., vii. 63 *chochav*.

kunitza, basket. Tiv. *kounitza*; P. *kunitzza*. Cf. Basque R. *koanitsa*; Catalan *canastra*.

kuriola, trick, deceit. V. *curriola*. This looks like a passive verb, 'he is made blind.'

kurkjó, bitter. P.R. *kurkid*. Mik., vii. 76 *kerko*.

kurko, Sunday. Tiv. *kourkou*. Mik., vii. 88.

kuro, jug. P. Mik., vii. 80 *khoro*.

la-, to take. P. *lée*, take! *lab*, *leb*, I take; *len*, they take. Mik., viii. 3.

la, she. See under *le*.

laf, word. Tii. R. Mik., viii. 5 *lav*.

lakro, her. P.R. *lacro*, their; *laci* (f.); *lacrè* (pl.). Surely a misunderstanding of de Réart's. R. merely copies.

lang, lame. Tiv. *lane*; P.R. *lang*. One expects **lanχ*: perhaps Tiv. wrote *lanc*, and Bataillard misread. But I suspect Tiv. of writing final *e* mute occasionally; if this is so here, the final *χ* must have been so soft as to escape notice. Mik., viii. 5.

langar, coal. B. Cf. Span. R. *langar*. Romance definite article prefixed. Mik., vii. 8 *angar*.

latšó, good. B. *latcho*; Tii. *lecho*; P. *latchò*; R. *lacho*; *lachi* (f.); M. *latchó*. Mik., viii. 4 *lučo*.

lé, he, him. P.R.

là, she, her. P.R. These are both ghost words taken by R. from two of P.'s sentences (28 and 29).

le, the. Tiii. Romance definite article.

leskaro, his. Tii. *lescaró*; *lesquirí* (f.).

librakaro, bailiff, mayor. Ti. *ya libracaro*; Tii. *Uooracaro* (illegible).

- loló*, red. Tiv. *lolo*; P.R. *lulò*. Mik., viii. 8.
loloro, red-haired man. Tiv. *lolorro*.
lon, salt. B. *lon*; Tiv. *lun*; R. *lon*. Mik., viii. 8.
lukiben, malady. Tiv.
luli, bonnet. P.R. Cf. Span. R. *luli*, basket.
- maḡaró*, holy, saint. B. *maḡero*; Tiii. *magaro*; P. *baro makharò*,
 God; *makharé*, saints; R. *majare*, saints. Pott, ii. 462.
mal-, to kill. R. *malar*. Mik., viii. 13 *mar*.
maluno, lightning. R. Cf. Span. R. *maluno*. Pott, ii. 456
molnija.
mamutsa, cat. B. *ouna mamoutse*. J. G. L. S., vii. 191, s.v. *múts*.
 The reduplication may have been due to confusion with
maimuna, monkey (Mik., viii. 10).
mung-, to beg. R. *mangar*; *mangaza*, mendicity, lit. you beg.
 Mik., viii. 11.
manro, bread. Tiv. *manrou*, *marou*; R. *manro*. Mik., viii. 12.
 See *ḡumer*.
manuḡ, man. Tiv. *manuj*; P. *manukh*; *manukhs* (pl.); R.
manusch. Mik., viii. 12 *manuš*.
mar-, to die. R. *marelar*. Mik., viii. 15 *mer*.
muló, dead. P. *mulò*.
mariben, death. Tiv. *humariben*; P.R. *marriben*.
mas, meat. Tiv. *maz*; P.R. *mas*. Mik., viii. 13.
matšo, fish. B. *matcho*; Tiv. *matchou*; R. *macho*. Mik. viii. 10
mašo.
me, I. Tii. P. *me*; R. *mé*. Mik., viii. 14.
man (used for nominative). B.P.
man (acc.). Tii. Tiii. P.R.
mande (prep.). Tiii.
mange (dat.). Tii. *mangué*.
mansa (inst.). Tii.
minro, my. B. *mro*; Tii. *minro*; *minry* (f.); P.R. *minro*, our;
minri (f.), our; *minrè* (pl.), our; R. *miro*; *miri* (f.); *miré*
 (pl.). P. has beside *minro*, our, the form *anro*, my, q.v.
 Mik., viii. 17.
misa, the Mass. Tiv. *missah*. Catalan, *missa*.
mištó, well. P.R. *mischto*. Mik., viii. 17.
mištípen, peace. Tii.
mol, wine. Ti. Tiv. P.R. Mik., viii. 18.
mui, mouth. Tiv. *muï*; P. *muy*, face; R. *mui*. Mik., viii. 19 *muj*.

muk-, to leave, quit. R. *mukel*, lit. he quits. Mik., viii. 19. See *mutšel*.

mulaló, dirty. P. *mulalò*; R. *mulato* (a misprint!). Mik., viii. 15 *melaló*.

muljibo, lead. P.R. *muillibo*. Mik., viii. 18 *moliš*.

muló, dead. See *mar-*.

mun-, to lend. P. *mun*, lend!

munr-, to shear, clip. Tii. *munraba*, I shear; R. *monrabar*. Mik., viii. 19 *mur*.

murga, cat. R. *mourga*. J. G. L. S., v. 215; Pott, ii. 438, s.v. *maczka*; Paspatis, 375 *murčka*.

murutsi, skin. P.R. *muruzzi*; P. *muruzzia* (pl.). Cf. Basque R. *mortcia*. Mik., viii. 18 *morti*.

musia, arm. Ti. *moussia*; Tiv. *mussia*; P. *mussia*; R. *musia*. Mik., viii. 20 *musi*.

musur, stable. P. *mussur*; *mussurs* (pl.); R. *musur*. Cf. Anglo-Romani (Norwood) *mussūr*, J. G. L. S., New Series, iii. 223.

mutrin-, to make water. R. *mutriner*. Mik., viii. 21 *muter*.

mutšel, hush! V. *mutxel*. Mr. Greene connects the word with *muk-*, to leave.

muza, flour. Tiv. *mouza*. Cf. Welsh Romani *mūza*, porridge; Brazilian R. *maz*, meal.

na, not. Tii. *na*; *narique*, do not speak! Tiii. *na*; Tiv. *natchi*, nothing; P. *na*, *nay*; R. *na*. Mik., viii. 21.

nabo, new. P. *nabo*; R. *nubo* (misprint!). Mik., viii. 24 *nevo*.

nabó, heaven. Tiii.

naf, name. Tiii. Mik., viii. 24 *nav*.

[*naχ-*, to lose.] Mik., viii. 23 *naš*.

naχado, lost. Tii. *najadia* (pl.).

nak, nose. Tiv. *nac*; P. *nak*; R. *naki*. Mik. viii. 22 *nakh*.

napubó, silver. P.R. *napubò*. Probably a misprint in P. copied by R. for **rapubò*. Cf. Russian R. *rupuvó* (adj.). Mik., viii. 60 *rup*.

nastis, unable. R. *nastis*, no. Mik., vii. 11, s.v. *asti*.

natši, nothing. Tiv. *natchi*. See *na*.

nesaló, ill. P. *nessalò*. Mik., viii. 23 *nasvalo*.

o, the. B. *ou*; Ti. *o*; P. *u*, *ou*, *o*; *o* (f.); *ol* (pl.); R. *u*; *o* (f.); *ol* (pl.). See *i*.

- oxtó*, eight. Tii. *ojtó*; P. *hafthó*; R. *otor*. Mik., viii. 26.
- okoba*, that. Tii. *o cobá*; R. *okabo*, that which; *okabi* (f.); *okabé* (m. pl.); *okabia* (f. pl.). Mik., viii. 29, s.v. *ov*.
- ore*, hour. P. Catalan, *hora*.
- paχ*, half. P. *pakh*; R. *pac*. Mik., viii. 33 *paš*.
- paχtsibés*, midday. P. *pactzibés*; R. *pachives*.
- paçaratsi*, midnight. P. *pac-arazzi*; R. *pacarazzi*.
- paχpral*, cousin. P. *pacpralé* (pl.), from which R. deduces a singular *pacpralo*! See *pral*.
- palal*, from behind. Tii. *palal*, last. Mik., viii. 30 *pale*.
- pan-*, to say. Tii. *pendom*, I said; *pandas*, she said; P. *panabé*, I will tell; R. *penar*. Mik., viii. 41 *phen*.
- pangar-*, to break. R. *pangarar*. Mik., viii. 38 *phag*.
- panjali*, brandy. Tiv. *pañeri*; R. *panali*; M. *páñalí*; V. *panyali*. See *panjin*.
- panjin*, water. Ti. *pagnin*, *puñing*; Tiv. *pañin*; P. *paignin*; R. *pani*. Mik., viii. 31 *pani*.
- panotši*, maize. Tiv. *panotchi*. Cf. Basque R. *panizua*. Catalan, *panotxa*, ear of corn.
- pantš*, five. Tii. *pañgs*; Tiv. *panch*; P. *pantch*; R. *panche*. Mik., viii. 31 *panč*.
- pardiné*, gendarme. R. (surely the word is plural?) Cf. Basque R. *perdino*; Span. R. *perdiñé*, musket.
- par-*, to count. R. *parne*, lit. they count. Cf. Mik., viii. 33 *paruv*.
- paripen*, danger. Tiii. Pott, ii. 370. Cf. Mik., viii. 40.
- parnó*, white. P.R. *parnó*; *parné* (pl.); R. *parna* (f.). Mik., viii. 32.
- patχú*, man. Tiv. *patjú*.
- patsibali*, the Virgin. Tii. *patsibaly*. Scilicet, 'trustworthy.' Mik., viii. 35 *patj*.
- pen*, sister. Tiv. Mik., viii. 41 *phen*.
- peno*, blue. Tiv. *penno*.
- per-*, to fall. Tii. *pellas*, fell; Tiii. *peras*, we fall. Mik., viii. 36.
- peskaró*, his own, her own, etc. P. *pescarò*; *pescari* (f.); *pescarè* (pl.); R. *peskaro*; *peskaré* (pl.). See *po*.
- pi-*, to drink. Tiv. *piaf*, I drink; P. *pias*, you drink; R. *piiar*. Mik., viii. 46.
- pindžar-*, to know. Tii. *pinjaraba*, I know; *pinjaré nales*, you know it. Mik., viii. 53 *prindžur*.

pinro, foot. B. Ti. *pinro*; Tii. *pinres* (pl.); Tiv. P. *pinré* (pl.); R. *pinro*; M. *pindro*. Mik., viii. 47.

pirav-, to woo. Tiv. *pyrabele*, female friend, lit. woos. Span. R. *pirabar*. Pott, ii. 353; Mik., viii. 48 *pirjav*.

piuli, widow. P.R. Mik., viii. 43, s.v. *phivlo*.

[*po*. Reflexive pronoun.]

pes (acc.). Tiii.

pen (acc. pl.). B. *tchingure napen*, fight, lit. they fight one another.

penge (dat. pl.). Tii. *pengue*. See *peskaró*.

pobai, apple. P. *pobbaya* (pl.). Mik., viii. 38 *phabaj*.

poxoré, cutlets. Tiv. *pojoré*. Catalan, *poch*, little.

por, feather. R. *ipor*. Mik., viii. 50 *pori*.

por, belly. Ti. *pohh*; P. *pport*; R. *port*. Mik., viii. 37 *per*.

por, for. P. Romance.

pral, brother. Tiv. *bral*; P. *pralè* (pl.), from which R. deduces a singular *pralo*! See *paxpral* under *παχ*. Mik., viii. 43 *phral*.

prast-, to run. P. *prestana*, they run; R. *plastalar*, to go. Mik., viii. 52 *prast*.

prexesar-, to pray. P. *prekhésarasan* (? we pray). Catalan, *pregar*.

prosar-, to forgive. Tiii. *prosar*, forgive! *prosarasa*, we forgive. *J. G. L. S.*, vii. 231; Pott, i. 437, ii. 360.

pul, excrement. V. Mr. Greene (*J. G. L. S.*, v. 141) thinks this is a variant of *bul*, anus; but cf. Mik., vii. 80 *khul*.

puraštubin, Friday. Tiv. *puraschtubin*. Mik., viii. 32 *paraskevi*.

puro, old. P.R. Mik., viii. 45 *phuro*.

purjov-, to grow old. R. *puro* (? I grow old).

purum, onion. Tiv. Mik., viii. 53.

pus, straw. Tiv. *poucs*. Mik., viii. 45 *phus*.

puška, gun. Tiv. *puschca* or *putchca* (Bataillard was uncertain of the reading of the original); P.R. *puskia*; R. *tcinopuskia*, pistol. Cf. Basque R. *pushka*, *puska*, gun; *tino puska*, pistol. Mik., viii. 53.

rai, gentleman. Tii. *haraij*; *cayorai*, this gentleman; *amarorai*, N. S. J. C. (Our Lord); M. *dai do gaf*, mayor of a town, attributed by M. to *dai*, mother, *q.v.* Cf. Basque R. *laia*. Mik., viii. 54 *raj*.

raχai, priest. Tiv. *rajai*, priest; *hyenjoj*, monk. (Bataillard

marked this as a doubtful reading of the original.) Cf.

Basque R. *laɣaya*, *lakaia*. Mik., viii. 56 *rašaj*.

rapatani, horse-shoe. Tii. Cf. Pott, ii. 348 *patuna*.

[*rapubó*, silver.] See *napubó*.

rat, blood. Tiv. *arath*; P. *u rath*; R. *rat*. Mik., viii. 56.

rodebel, God. B. *mro debel*; *rut debel*; *dat debel* (see *dad*); Ti.

Tii. *rodebel*; Tiii. . . . *dabel* (partly illegible); Tiv. *rodebel*; P. *rut da bel*; R. *dabel*. Mik., vii. 42 *devel*.

redablesa (inst.). Tii. *redablessa*, with God.

develeskro, of God. R. *develescridaï*, the Virgin, lit. Mother of God.

The forms are to be explained as derived from *miro debel*: *miru tlabel*: *mire dablesa*. One suspects Coppersmith influence in *develeskri*, especially as R. tells us he conversed with travelling bands from Hungary.

rokamlo, friend. P. *pescarò rocamlo*, his friend; R. *rocamlo*. See *kam-*. For the form see *rodebel* and note that P. shows unconsciousness of the origin of the first syllable.

rom, man, Gypsy. Ti. *rom*; Tiv. P. *rum*; R. *rom*; M. *rom*, *rùm*. Mik., viii. 58.

romni, woman. B. *romni*; Ti. *roumi*; P. *rumi*; R. *romi*.

romani, the Gypsy language. M. *rōmani*, *rūmani*, *rūman-āitch*.

romanitšel, Gypsy. M. *romanishel*, *romnishel*, *romnitchel*.

ruf, wolf. Tiv. *harouf*. Mik., viii. 60 *ruv*.

ruk, tree. Tiv. *yarouk*; P.R. *ruk*. Mik., viii. 59.

rumi, woman. See under *rom*.

runjia, fingers. P. *rugnja*; R. *rugni* (sing.), deduced no doubt from the form in P. Assuming misprint of *r* for *v* this may be borrowed from the Coppersmiths. Cf. J. G. L. S., vii. 212 *vundja*.

sad, as. See *sar*.

sajetsibés, day, 'journée.' P. *sayetzibés*; R. *saietzives*. Scil. *asa jek dzibes*, all one day. See *dzibes*.

sar, as. Tii. *sad*; Tiii. R. *sar*. If *sad* is not a misreading cf. Span. R. *sata*. Mik., viii. 62.

saranda, forty. R. Mik., viii. 62 (only Greek, Rumanian, and Polish dialects). The Coppersmiths knew this word but used *štar-var-deš*.

sast, iron. P.R. Mik., viii. 70 *šaster*.

- se*, reflexive pronoun. R. Romance.
- sere*, all. B. Mik., viii. 63 *savoro*. See *asa*; *sajetsibés*.
- sigader*, first. Tii. Mik., viii. 64 *sigo*.
- sil*, cold. See *χil*.
- sin-*, to seize, take. R. *sinaba*, lit. I seize; *sinelar*. Cf. WlislOCKi, *sin'olav*, to stretch.
- sjéros*, steel. P.R. *ciéros*. Romance, cf. Catalan *cer*.
- sof*, six. See *χof*.
- solivaris*, bridle. B. *solibaris*; Tii. *solivaris*. Mik., viii. 69 *sulivari*.
- sonakai*, gold. Tiv. *sonnakay*; P. *tsunakay*; R. *sonakai*. Mik., viii. 68 *sovnakaj*.
- stadi*, hat. B. Mik., viii. 68 *stadik*.
- stanjos*, tin. P.R. *staignos*. Catalan, *estañ*.
- sterni*, cat. R. Pott, ii. 247; J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 115.
- strengari*, dollar. P. *ya doble strengari*, a doubloon; *ya pakh béde strengari*, half a doubloon. Cf. Span. R. (Borrow) *estongrí*, Pott, ii. 64. Perhaps **starengri*, piece of four.
- sut*, milk. Tiv. *suth*; P. *sut*. Cf. Basque R. *suta*, *tchuta*. Paspatis, 199; Ascoli, 10; Mik., viii. 83 *thud*.
- suv-*, to sleep. Tiv. *soubas*, to sleep, lit. we sleep; R. *suvinar*, to lie down; V. *sobinyar*. Mik., viii. 67 *sov*.
- star*, four. Tii. *axtar*; Tiv. *setar*; P. *haschtar*, R. *estar*, *star*. Mik., viii. 73.
- šuko*, thin. B. *chouχο*; P. *kuki* (pl.) given as alternative to *schucrokhili* (see next word); R. *kukia* (pl.). Mik., viii. 74. Bataillard probably misheard the guttural. Von Sowa misunderstood the phrase in R. and treats *kuki* as a form of *kokali*, bone.
- šukro*, dry. P. *schucrokhili* (pl.), dry, thin. Probably for *šukro* + *χili* (*šil*), dry and cold. Perhaps *khili* = *si-le*, are they?
- ta*, and. Tii. *ta*; Tiv. *butharbarou*, probably for *but ta baro*; P. *ta*; R. *t', ta*. Mik., viii. 76.
- [*tar-*, to betray.] Tiii. *lamen*: so I read the almost illegible script. Perhaps *tarren*, they betray. Cf. WlislOCKi, *tharav*. The reading is so doubtful that I bracket the word.
- tarnó*, young. P.R. *tarnó*. Mik., viii. 80 *terno*.
- tasarle*, in the morning. P. *tassarle*; R. *tasarlé*. Mik., viii. 76 *tachjara*.

- te*, that. B. *ta*, *te*; Tiii. Tiv. *te*; P. *ta*. Mik., viii. 78.
- tiraχ*, shoe. B. *tireha*; Ti. *yatiraja*; Tiv. *hetiraj*; P.R. *tirag*; R. *tiraga* (pl.). Mik., viii. 86 *triak*.
- tiro*, thy. Tii. *tiro*; *tiry* (f.); Tiii. *tro*; *tiri* (f.); P.R. *tiro*; *tiri* (f.); *tirè* (pl.); *tro*; *tri* (f.); *trè* (pl.). Mik., viii. 84 *tinro*.
- traχ*, fear. P. *trakh*; R. *trax*; *me traj*, I fear. Mik., viii. 85 *traš*.
traχunó, timid. P. *trakhund*; R. *trajuno*.
- trianda*, thirty. Tii. P.R. Mik., viii. 86.
- trin*, three. Tii. Tiv. P.R. Mik., viii. 86.
- truχul*, cross. B. *ia traχoul*; Tii. *trujal* in the expressions *jof-trujul*, sixty; *ephtá-trujul*, seventy; *ohtó-trujul*, eighty; *añya-trujul*, ninety; *dej-trujul*, hundred. 'Ten' in Roman notation is, of course, a cross-saltire X. Mik., viii. 87 *trušul*.
- trupos*, body. P.R. Mik., viii. 87 *trupo*.
- tsabardu*, cigar. Tiv. *hietzabardu* (the reading is marked doubtful by Bataillard). Perhaps participle from **tsabar*-, to burn. Mik., viii. 80 *thab*. But compare *tsuvalo*.
- tsano*, thin. P. *tsano*; R. *tzano*. Mik., viii. 61 *sano*.
- tsem*, country. P.R. *utzem*. Mik., viii. 82 *them*.
- tsin*, colour. P. *tsin*; R. *tzin*. Cf. Pott, ii. 231 *schin*. The derivation from Hungarian *szin* is probable, as we have other examples of initial *s* in this dialect becoming *ts*. See, e.g., *tsano*.
- tsino*, little. Tii. *tzino*; P. *tcini* (f.); R. *tcino*. Mik., viii. 84 *tikno*.
- tsiros*, sky. Tiv. *churoteiros* (? misread by Bataillard for *churo tciros*), storm; P.R. *tciros*. Cf. Span. R. *chiró*, time; Basque R. *céria*, heaven. Mik., vii. 34 *čiro*.
- tsitsai*, cat. Tiv. *tzitzay*. Cf. Basque R. *tsitçaya*, *tchitchaia*; Span. R. *chichoí*. Pott, ii. 203; Mik., ix. 16 *čičáj*.
- tsoχa*, dress. Ti. *tsohha*. Mik., vii. 35 *čocha*.
- tsulatši*, bounty. Tiv. *tsulachi*.
- tsulolo*, a 'douro' (small coin). Tiv. *zoulolo*; P.R. *tzulolo*. Perhaps 'little thick 'un'; cf. Mik., viii. 83 *thulo*.
- tsuvaló*, tobacco. B. *tsouvoló*; Tiv. *subulú*; M. *súbalo*, *shúvalo*. Mik., viii. 83 *thuv*.
- tšabio*, chicken. Tiv. *tchabioú*; *chabia*, hen; P. *tchàbarè*, chickens; *tchabié*, hens. Pott, ii. 199; Mik., vii. 30 *čavri*.
- tšabo*, boy. Ti. *yiadchabo*; Tiv. *tcheba*; P. *tchabé* (pl.); R. *chabo*; M. *chavo*, a Gypsy; V. *xavó*. Mik., vii. 30 *cavó*.

- tšabori*, little girl. R. *chabori*.
tšabi, girl. V. *xivi*, bride.
tšai, girl. Ti. *dchai*; Tiv. *tchaï*; P. *tchaya* (pl.); R. *chaï*, *chay*.
tšaχ, cabbage. Tiv. *chaj*. Cf. Basque R. *chaka*, *haka*. Mik., viii. 70 *šach*.
tšatšipen, truth. R. *chachipen*, truly. Mik., vii. 27, s.v. *čučo*.
tšeró, plate. Tiv. *djetcheró*. Mik., vii. 29 *čaro*.
tši, not. Tiv. *natchi*, nothing. See also *tšiltši*. Mik., vii. 31 *či*.
tšik, earth, ground. B. *tchik*; Tiii. *chic*; Tiv. *chic*; P. *tchik*; R. *chik*. Mik., vii. 32 *čik*.
[*tšikilo*, anointed.] Tiii. *chikilo*. Perhaps a participle of a verb connected with *čiken*, fat. Mik., vii. 32. .
tšiltši, nothing. P. *tchilchy*. This form occurs twice, and is supported by R. *chikli*. See *tši*.
tšimoni, something. Tii. *chimoni*; P. *tchimuny*; R. *chimuni*. Cf. *komoni*.
tšind-, to load. R. *chindar*.
tšingar-, to quarrel. B. *tchingure napen*, dispute, lit. they quarrel one with another. Mik., vii. 34 *činger*.
tšinubarló, drunk. P. *tchinubarlò*.
tšip, tongue. Tiv. P. *tchip*; *tchipa* (pl.); R. *chip*; *chipa* (pl.); V. *atxip*. Mik., vii. 31 *čib*.
tširiklo, bird. B. *tchiriclo*; P. *cherrielo*; R. *chirriklo*. Mik., vii. 34 *čiriklo*.
tšomut, moon. B. *tchimout*; Ti. *choumout*, *dchumud*; R. *tschemut*. Mik., vii. 35 *čomut*.
tšor, thief. R. *chor*. Mik., vii. 36 *čor*.
tšor-, to steal. R. *chorar*.
tšoriben, wickedness. Tiii. *chorry Ben*. Cf. Pott, ii. 201.
tšoro, bad. Tii. *tchorro*; Tiv. *churoteiros*, storm (see *tširos*); P. *tchurro*; R. *churro*.
tšororó, poor. P. *tchurrurrò*; R. *chonorro* (a misprint !). Mik., vii. 37 *čoro*.
tšort, beard. B. *tchort*. Mik., vii. 36 *čor*.
tšubarnitsa, harness. B. *tchoubarnitse*.
tšumaxari, bootmaker. R. *chumajarri*. Von Sowa misinterprets the *j*. He accepts the derivation proposed by de Rochas from German *Schumacher*. See Mik., viii. 86, s.v. *triak*.
tšurdo, dress. B. *tchourdo*.
tšuri, dagger. Tiv. *chury*. Mik., vii. 39 *čuri*.
tšutši, breast. B. *tchoucha*, throat, lit. breasts. Mik., vii. 37 *čuči*.

- tu*, thou. P.R. *tu*. Mik., vii. 87.
tut (acc.). B. *tout*; Tii. *tut, tu*; P. *tot*; R. *tut*.
tuke (prep.). Tiv. *touke*.
tusa (inst.). Tii. *tusa, tuza*.
tumaro, your. Tii. *tu mari* (f.). Mik., viii. 88.
tumé, you. Tii. *tume*; P.R. *tumé*. Mik., viii. 88 *tumen*.
tumen (acc.). P.R.
tumenge (prep.). Tii., *tu mengue*.
turdo, farrier. Tiv., *tourdou*.

ua, yes. R. *ua, ué*; V. *ua*. Cf. Basque R. *ua*.
ulitsa, street. Tiv. *hioulitza*. Cf. Span. R. *ulica*. Mik., viii. 89
ulika.
una, a, one. B. *ouna*. Romance.
upré, upon. Tii. Mik., viii. 26 *opre*.
uró, alone. P. *urrò*; *urrè* (pl.). From *korkoro* by loss of redupli-
cation and initial *K*. Mik., vii. 86.
utšar-, to carry. R. *utchar*.

vaižisar-, to travel. P. *vaygissarle*, lit. he travels. Romance. Cf.
French *voyager*. Catalan, *viatjar*.
varikitši, several. M. *várikittchi*. Mik., viii. 93 *vare*.
[*vunjia*, fingers.] See *runjia*.

zet, oil. B. Tiv. Mik., viii. 98 *zeitì*.
zétalia, olives. P. From which R. deduces a singular *zétali*.

IV.—THE NAWAR OR GYPSIES OF THE EAST

By FATHER ANASTĀS, THE CARMELITE

Translated from the Arabic by Alexander Russell

(Continued from Vol. VII. p. 319)

5. The Language of the Gypsies

WE have said that the final means for a knowledge of the origin of these peoples is the investigation of their language, the analysis of its idioms, and the examination of its origin. All European scholars have forestalled us on this point, and their conclusion is that a Sanskritic origin is the most probable source of the language of the Nawar. (Sanskrit is the language of

ancient India.) This view confirms the opinion that these people are a mixture of the lowest class of Hindus and Persians and of neighbouring peoples, for the whole of their language is traced back to an Aryan or Indo-European origin.

Understand that the Gypsies have preserved this language of theirs in all European countries from north and south, and likewise in other countries like Anatolia, for example, Rumelia, Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and Persia. But it is not unmixed with foreign tongues like English, French, and Italian, and their grammar. There are signs of admixture of these nations in the language, which increase or decrease in proportion to the amount of foreign contamination they show.

But in these Arab countries of ours the Gypsies are in two large divisions; one going to and fro between Persia and these regions, the other wandering through the length and breadth of the Arab countries, and never leaving them. The language of the first section (called Kāuli by general acceptance) completely resembles the Kurdish and the Persian tongues. I have selected from it many expressions and stories, and, after an investigation of it, I have found it as I have said. It is well known that the Kurdish and the Persian belong to the Aryan family. But the language of the second division (it is called the Kāuliyah of the Arabs) is a mixture of Arabic and some Kurdish; some expressions agree in their pronunciation and inflexion with the Arabic, and some are Arabic expressions, but their meanings are different from those which are familiar, having assigned to them another sense widely different from the radical meaning and ambiguous in their regular expression. I have spoken with some of them about this peculiarity, but they never wished to tell me anything about this language of theirs, and desired that I should think them meaningless jinglers. But one of them recited to me a song in the Arabic language, accompanying it on the *rabābeh*,¹ one of the musical instruments known among them, and here is what he sang:

*Maśāhīre al-balad humma wegedhum, kullu 'l-bilād ma nilgi
wegedhum
Ġabal Senġār mā yegdar yegāzihum, yereddūne as-Sabāyā
'alā 'l-gafā*²

¹ A sort of one-stringed violin. — R. A. S. M.

² Special signs are used for the letters *e*, *o* in the Arabic text, and are explained in a footnote as denoting the sound of the corresponding vowels in French. — R. A. S. M.

The song praises the shaikhs of the tribe of Al-Muntafiḳ, and calls them the famous ones of the country, them and their sires, and says in the dialect of all the Kāuli that we do not find (*nalḳā* = *nalḡā*, for they pronounce the *ḳ* as the Persian *g*¹), and if one wished to recompense them for their brilliant deeds, there was no gift comparable with their rank, even though the gift were as great or as high as Mount Sengār, and among these brilliant deeds was the turning back of the armies (the Sabāyā) on their heels (*al-gafā* = *al-ḳafā*).

*Sa'dūn wa yā neṭiḥe 'l-wazarā bāḡāt ḡayet men armāḥe 'l-badū
bāḡāt
Ḥasāfah 'alā 'l-'aḡīd yarūḥ bawḡāt wa ṣebyāne 'l-ḥareb kānū
ḡiyāb.*²

That is, 'And thou, Oh Sa'dūn—the Shaikh of the tribe of Al-Muntafiḳ, the most powerful, the existing; who is well known for his raids, his courage, and his wisdom—Oh goader³ of princes, companies by companies (*bāḡāt* = *bāḳāt*), verily thou bringest us the spears of the people of the deserts, bundle by bundle, and with agility (*ḥasāfah*) upon the chief (*al-'aḡīd* = *al-'aḳīd*). He goes with stealth and treachery (*bawḡāt* = *bawḳāt*, the plural of *būḳa*, from *bāḳa*, that is, to steal). Lo! he was taken while the fighters were absent.' The chief here is the Shaikh Sa'dūn himself. His enemies had seized him treacherously and craftily, and he did not remain long in their hands, but escaped after a little.

*Al-Ḥadīdī yefawel al-mewlā ḡawāk Eblīs yā mewlā
w'ḥaṭṭālak ḡanāḥain yekūn tsūf lak dīrah weḡnāḥain
Lew tsūf ḥlūlnā men ba'd ḥālḥain al-ḥumūr al-yarman
rawāḡiṣ al-ḡaṭā.*

That is, 'The tribe of Ḥadīdī (who was allied to Shaikh Sa'dūn) waged war (*yefawel* = *yaḳābal*) with the clan of Mewlī (one of the clans hostile to Sa'dūn), and Oh! the wonder how Iblis made thee, Oh Shaikh (Mūlī) al-Mewlī, and moulded thee, and led thee to this war in which thou hast been overthrown. Woe to thee when thou returnest, driven away, and escapest from among thy people through their neglect, as if the devil mounted two wings on thee, and thou didst fly on them (*tsūf*—*tarā*) to a halting-place (*dīrah*)

¹ As *g* in *get*.—R. A. S. M.

² These verses are merely Arabic in provincial pronunciation, and are not specimens of any nomad language.—R. A. S. M.

³ *Lit.* one that butts with a horn.—R. A. S. M.

in which thou didst descend, and there buildest for thyself in it two towers (dual of *ḡanāḥ*, which is the look-out on the road) like the people of the tilled land who like dwelling in tents through fear for themselves. Would that thou wouldest come and witness (*wataṣūf*) our halting-place (*ḥulūlana*) after thy flight (*ba'd ḥālḥain* = after this time, that is, the time of thy flight), nor wilt thou see in it aught but the guns (*al-ḥumur* : plural of *ḥamrā'*, that is, the gun which becomes red from the greatness of its heat owing to the number of its firings) which the hunters of the sand-grouse shoot (*al-yarman* : those which shoot). The meaning of these here is the people running away who are utterly afraid and run as the sand-grouse flies when the hunter pursues it.

This quotation is clothed in rough dress, lacking Arab embroidery. It is deficient in eloquence, propriety of speech, and sublimity in meaning, and cannot be put beside the works of the greatest poets. Perhaps this statement of ours may be troublesome to the hearing of many readers at first, unless it meets attentive ears among those who look at things with the eye of sincerity and freedom from prejudice.

I asked this Kāuli why his people wandered over the world. He replied : ' Verily God has said to every one of us, " Let thy forearm be thy ally and thy belly thy wallet ; what hast thou to do with a known house, and thy living on thy brother a thing destined ? " '

Then I asked him a question, so he answered me about it and said : ' I am of the Kāuliya who are traced back to the Beni Tamīm. In summer we camp in 'Irāk, and in winter in Abu Saida and Ḥāliṣ, and their neighbourhood. The name of our Shaikh is Mazmān, acknowledged the best ; our number is 1500 tents. Among us are Sunnites, but the Shi'ahs (the sect of 'Alī) are the majority among us. We are fiddlers, and our women tell fortunes. We are very numerous. '

Let us now enumerate what has been said by Europeans who have investigated the language of the Gypsies. Among them is the German Grellman, whose book was translated into French and printed at Paris in 1810. The substance of his investigations is that their origin is from Hindustan, and that they are of the low Hindi nation, known to-day by the name *Pariahs* or *Ḥandal*. A. F. Pott¹ has also written about them. The latter's view approaches that of the former. Also the writer George Borrow, who died in 1881. *Al-Hilāl* says of him (vol. iv. p. 382)

¹ *Hist. des Bohémiens*, Halle, 1845.

that 'he mixed with the Gypsies, fraternised with them, studied their language and other matters relating to them, and wrote a few books about them. Among these is a book called *The Zincali*, published in 1841, another called *The Bible in Spain*, and a complete dictionary of the language of the Gypsies, and others besides. From the researches of this scholar we learn that the origin of this people is from the north of India. They speak a single language, resembling the language of ancient India in its origin and composition. They call it and their race *Romāni* (*sic*), and the meaning of *Rom* in their language is "husband," and of *Romāni* "the nation of the husbands."'

Pallas considers that the language which the Gypsies speak resembles completely a language of Hindu merchants, the *Mūltāni*, with a band of whom he happened to be acquainted in *Astrahān*. One of the things that need no demonstration is that their language is Indian in origin, as it has been shown by the whole body of investigators. Their words are divided into three classes, root-words, derivatives, and loan-words. They possess the particles of definition, but they are rarely used.

The noun is inflected with six cases; they have two classes of the accusative and two of the genitive. The correlative noun ends, as in Hindustani, with the letter *o* or *i*, according as it is masculine or feminine. The genitive form of the noun is also adapted as a true epithet. For example, *berš*, i.e. 'year'; they say *beršiskero*, 'to the year' or 'yearly.' When you wish the comparative, you add *idir* to the stem; when you wish the superlative, you add *kohn* (with the meaning 'who?' or 'of what sort?') to the beginning of the genitive of the comparative. So you say, for example, *kamlo*, i.e. 'mighty,' *kamlidir*, i.e. 'mightier,' and *kohn kamlidir*, 'the mightiest.' (This means literally 'who is the greater?' supplying the word 'person,' the complete meaning being 'who is the greater person?')

The conjugation of the verb is by means of changes of suffix. The first, second, and third persons have special forms which are sufficient without the pronouns. The language has only two tenses, the past and the present, and they have three forms for the inflexion, corresponding to the Latin forms, *ut faciam*, *ut facerem*, *ut fecissem*. They have no true infinitive standing by itself, and when they wish to express it they add the particle *te* to the beginning of the verb. Thus, one says: *me kamāva te ĩnāv*, i.e. 'what is wanted the writing?' and the meaning of the whole

is literally 'it is wanted that I write.' They have no special inflexion for the future, and, when it is required, it is expressed by a second verb, used as an auxiliary. Among these verbs are 'he went' and 'he came.' By means of slight changes they arrive at the expression of the senses of the active, the passive, and the obligatory verb, etc. The stem or base of the word is the imperative, not the past nor the present.

In the language of the Gypsies there is a vast number of loan-words. This cannot be avoided by nomads wandering their lives long over the length and breadth of God's earth. The foreign languages which have supplied the Gypsy language with some of its words are Turkish, Greek, Rumanian, Italian, Wallachian, Magyar, German, Sclavonian, Kurdish, etc. etc. Notwithstanding the multiplication of these elements, the special features which clearly distinguish the language, its inflexions and syntax, are impressed upon it. In the multitude of their varieties, this is the radical part of the language, distinguishing the natural from the extraneous elements. There is no doubt that they resemble one of the Indian languages derived from the ancient Indian, known by the name of Sanskrit. Especially does it bear close resemblance to Persian. To support this opinion and demonstrate this resemblance, we mention some of the evidence. The sun is called in Nuri *šam* and in Hindustani *kam*. The name of silver in Nuri is *rup* and in Hindustani *ruppa*. (From this we get *rupee* for a piece of the silver standard money used in India.) The name of the hair in Nuri is *bal* and in Hindustani *bal*. The head in Nuri is *čero* and in Persian *ser*; the hand in Nuri is *wast* and in Persian *dest*; the finger in Nuri is *guzhdo* and in Persian *angušt*; fortune in Nuri is *bakst* and in Persian *baht*; tent in Nuri is *čātar*, in Hindustani *čātar*, and in Persian *čādir*, etc. etc. The evidence on this point is endless, and the above will be sufficient.

With respect to writing, its existence among them is not heard of to-day. Some maintain that the Gypsies in Hungary have a special form of writing, which is not impossible for people of this kind: for if they desired communications and needed writing for commercial transactions, necessity would force them to a script that no one should hit on their secrets. Often one whose private affairs were matter of special moment would put them down, making use of the invention of writing to express his message; thus it would be carried to one of his companions or one of his neighbours, and then it spread to the whole tribe.

There is no mention of their having a formal idiomatic literature; except that the Gypsies are fond of poetry, and among them are many who extemporize verses, and run them off fluently, and their poets compose poems in the metres of their songs. When you listen to their poets, your ears often ring with the assonances and the strange riming: only poetic licences are numerous in them by reason of this improvisation. But notwithstanding it is not concealed from the minds of the audience present when they are prepared for performances of this kind and their relation to well-known rules.

The more celebrated of the Arabs who have written about the language of the Gypsies or Beni Sāsān are: Al-Ḥarīrī in his Sāsānian *Maḳāmāt*; in it he has mentioned some words of their language. Badī' ez-Zamān of Ḥamadān has cited in his *Maḳāmāt* some of their customs and arts, but he does not mention anything of their language. Al-Ḥafāḡī in his book, *Safā' 'l-Ġalīl*, has quoted some words from their unintelligible language. But the one who has surpassed all the writings of the Arabs in this topic, and has registered much of their proper application of words, their idioms, and their technical terms, is one of the Arab Sāsāni, named Abu Dulaf al-Ḥazarīḡī al-Yanbū'ī, and in this language he has composed an ode called 'the Sāsānian Ode.' Aṭ-Ta'ālībī has quoted many of its verses in his book *Yatīmah 'd-Dahar* [*The Incomparable of the Time*], and has explained some of their strange idioms. But it is impossible to quote specimens of this ode, because of the impropriety, wantonness, and profligacy in it, and because of the collection of foul expressions. We quote just a little of it that will suffice for all this sort of language which was then widespread in the time of the Beni 'Abbās, and has left its influence on the learned of that time. For some of its expressions found their way into the classical language, and came into the minds of famous writers, without any one remembering that they were of the language of the Beni Sāsān. But as to the contents of this ode, here is the quotation:

And of us are the *kāj* and the *kājah*¹ and the *śīśak*² on the throat.

Figures and pendants of iron³ or brass;

¹ *kāj* and *kājah*: one inspired by a demon (m. and f.).

² *śīśak*: the bits of iron and amulets which they hang on themselves.

³ *al-ḥad* = *al-ḥadīd* (iron).

Whoever *darwaza*,¹ or *harraza*,² or *kauwaza*³ with the *dağr*⁴

Whoever *darra'a*,⁵ or *kaśś'a*,⁶ or *damma'a*⁷ in the cold.

Whoever *ra'asa*,⁸ or *kabbasa*,⁹ or *gallasa*¹⁰ in the early morning.

*Hāgūr*¹¹ and *kaddābāt*¹² of the folk of the yellow faces.

Whoever *ṣattaba*¹³ or *rakkaba*¹⁴ for scourging and wounds.

Whoever *maisara*¹⁵ or *maḥṭara*¹⁶ and chattered with his teeth.

Whoever *nākada*¹⁷ in the *kainūn*¹⁸ from the belly of Abu Šamr.¹⁹

Whoever *raśsa*²⁰ and *dū'l-mukwi*²¹ and whoever *darmaka*²² with perfume.

Whoever *dakkaka*²³ or *fakkaka*²⁴ or *balgaka*²⁵ with silk.

Whoever *kaṣṣa*²⁶ about Israel or *šibriyah* on *šibriyah*.

¹ *darwaza*: one who goes round the streets and lanes mocking at women.

² *harraza*: one who writes charms and amulets.

³ *kauwaza*: one who rises up in a company. *Al-mukawwiz* is a person who rises in companies of story-tellers; and the narrator bespeaks a gift from his companions; but, when they separate, they divide what they gave him. [Apparently a sort of confidence-trick; the story-teller causes his confederates to raise a subscription among themselves and the company not in the secret.—R. A. S. M.]

⁴ *ad-dağr*: what is divided. ⁵ *darra'a*: when the maker of *harisah* comes, one who begs a piece of the *harisah* [a stew of meat and corn], and if he gives him it, devours it. ⁶ *kaśś'a*: one who walks with his eye on the ground seeking for fragments. ⁷ *damma'a*: one who weeps for cold in the streets till something is given him. ⁸ *ra'asa*: one who strolls about the shopkeepers' stalls and takes from here a walnut and from there a date and a fig. ⁹ *kabbasa*: one who turns and watches a man untying a parcel, lays hold on it and takes something out of it. ¹⁰ *gallasa*: one who goes out a-begging at dawn. ¹¹ *hāgūr*: one who bores an egg and places it in his bosom, and it pours out yellow water [to counterfeit disease]. ¹² *kaddābāt*: the bandages they fasten on their foreheads, making people suppose that they are diseased. ¹³ *ṣattaba*: one who wounds himself with a razor and makes false accusations against the Bedouins, the Kurds, and the brigands. ¹⁴ *rakkaba*: one who anoints his body with sesame-oil till his skin becomes black, and makes people think he has been flogged or that the *giinn* have slapped him during the night. ¹⁵ *maisara*: one who begs on the plea that he has come from an enemy's country. These were called the *maisirāni*. ¹⁶ *maḥṭara*: one who swallows his tongue and makes people believe that the Greeks have cut it off. ¹⁷ *nākada*, *munākida*: they who divide the clothes and weapons they have taken on the pretext of a raid. ¹⁸ *kainūn*: the place of the division. ¹⁹ Abu Šamr: the first who begged on the pretext of a raid. ²⁰ *raśsa*: one who begs on the pretext of the rose-water which he sprinkles on people. ²¹ *dū'l-mukwi*: he who perfumes people with incense. ²² *darmaka*: one who sells perfume on the road. ²³ *dakkaka*, *al-mudakkik*: one who makes a vain show with [magic] wands, and imposes on one who has toothache, till he puts a cheese-mite in whatever is between his teeth, then takes it out and pretends that he has got it out by magic. ²⁴ *fakkaka*: one who loosens chains on the road. ²⁵ *balgaka*: one who pulls off seals with fine silk. ²⁶ *man kaṣṣa*: he who relates the traditions about the prophets and the short tales which are called *šibriyah*.

Whoever *baṣṛaka*¹ or *naudaka*,² or *aṣṛaka bi-l-habri*.³

Whoever *ḡaddasa*⁴ or *nammasa*⁵ or *ṣaulasa*⁶ with the hair.

Most of these expressions the authors of the *Mu'ājam* do not mention, though they do mention some of them with a few exceptions. It is impossible to detect the reason for recording some of them and neglecting the rest. If I consider it strange, the truth is that all should be recorded or all neglected, and in my opinion it is better to record than to neglect them. For this there are many reasons. First, the Pre-Islamic Arabs are detected among the Beni Sāsān from these expressions, some of them produced at the beginning, and some of them evolved in the lapse of ages. Secondly, many of these words have found their way to the tongues of the chief men of learning from whom the statement about them is accepted. I am certainly not unaware that there are objectors who say that these words are possibly not Arabic, but Persian, pure or obscure, considered incorrect, so that it is not desirable to record them in dictionaries. My answer is to point out that many words of foreign origin find a place in the leaves of dictionaries, and that all philologists have registered many obscure expressions; except that in such cases they indicate their deviation from the classical speech, and this is sufficient for whoever is anxious and desirous for the purity of the language. Thirdly, these Sāsānian expressions are not designed to supplant corresponding classical expressions: so when there is proved necessity for them, what can we do better than borrow them from those learned in our language, and from the authors who know them, use them, and insert them in their sentences? Is not that better than that we invent new expressions as a substitute for them?

There are many others of the Beni Sāsān who attained to fame in the time of the Caliphs. One of them was 'Club-foot' al-'Ukburi, namely Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aḳil ibn Muḥammad al-'Ukburi. In the explanation of the *Makāmāt* of Al-Ḥariri (2, 494), Aṣ-Ṣarīfī says—'It was lucid and poetical, and in it the author has quoted a sentence, as follows: "If I were to recite to thee what 'Club-

¹ *baṣṛaka*: one who disguises as a monk and plays the ascetic. ² *naudaka*: one who begs on the pretext that he is a pilgrim. ³ *aṣṛaka bi-l-habri*: one who divides what he has taken with his companions. ⁴ *ḡaddasa*: one who eats liver, pounded and dried, specially in the month of Ramaḍān, and pretends that he is fasting and has not broken his fast except once or twice in the month. ⁵ *nammasa*: from *al-nāmūs* [the trap or the astute]. ⁶ *ṣaulasa*: from *al-sālūsah*. They are ascetics who beg in a dress of hair.

foot' al-'Ukbūrī (who is one of the Beni Sāsān now living in Baghdād) recited to me, in chasteness of language and beauty of poetic form, thou mightest be filled with admiration at his elegance and wonder at his poetic style. The following is one of his choicest passages :

Incumbent on me is the praise of God in a stanza of praise.
 My brothers are the Beni Sāsān, a people of wealth and good
 luck.¹
 They have the land of Ḥorasān and Ḡassan with Ludd.²
 When the patrol was not lacking to the night-journeys and
 the army³
 Aware of their enemies of the Arabs and the Kurds,
 We intercepted that road with neither sword nor scabbard,
 And he who fears his foes, implores protection in war
 from us."'

So in this verse is a strange meaning: it implies that when of persons of wealth and position one fell into the hands of enemies and wished to be saved, he said, 'I am molested.' So Al-Ḥarīrī constructed this chapter of his *Maḳāmāt* (the chapter of the arts of the Beni Sāsān) on the poem of the 'Club-foot,' and the greater part of this *Maḳāmāt* is taken from his elegancies.

There are many eminent men of learning who have preserved a considerable amount of the language and manners of the Beni Sāsān, because some of them were of repute and exercised an influence on their contemporaries. Among these is Al-Ḥarīrī. He has used some of the technical words of these people, and employed something of their language in his Sāsānian *Maḳāmat*. Among them also was the author Ibn 'Abbād, who says in *Yatīmah-ad-Dahr* (3, 170): 'The author had a marvellous remembrance of *Munākāt*⁴ of the Beni Sāsān, and excited the

¹ In the *Yatīmah* it is quoted: 'My brothers are the Beni Sāsān, a people of wealth and bravery.' The last word [*ḥadd*] is a mistake [for *ḡadd*].

² In the *Yatīmah*: 'They have the land of Ḥorasān and Kāsān to India.' This, in my opinion, is more correct. ³ After the third verse it quotes: 'To Greece, to France, to Bulgaria, to Sind.' *Aṭ-ṭarḳ* [the roads] is quoted instead of *aṭ-ṭauf* [the patrol], which is a mistake. ⁴ *Munākāt* here has the meaning 'unintelligible language of the Beni Sāsān.' There is no mention of it in the dictionaries in my hands. I asked the learned doctor and understanding philologist Muḥammad Šukrī Efendi al-Ālausi about its meaning. He answered me: '*Munākāt* means the disagreement which had fallen out between the Beni Sāsān and the Muslims, like what happened between the Barāmakah and the Beni 'Abbās, and the disagreement of the people of Ḡa'far. What *Aṭ-Ta'alibi* means is the glorification of the perfection of the knowledge of that author and of Abu Dulaf, and how they were indicating lacunae in the knowledge of all the Persian historians also.'

wonder of Abu Dulaf at it, and his pleasure was exuberant. They were discussing its ramifications among themselves and competing to see what of it those present of them did not understand. When Abu Dulaf presented him with an ode in which he collated the perplexities of "Club-foot" al-'Ukburī in the *Munākāt* and mentioned the "molested," and the remark on the forms of their letters and the kind of their customs, and related¹ the entrance of the Caliph Al-Muṭṭa'Allah in their summing up, and had explained them in an efficient and sufficient translation, he was excited and went out and learned the whole of them² by heart, and bestowed his blessing on them.' Such are the words of At-Ta'ālībī in the *Yatimah*.

Among those who know the language of the Beni Sāsān is Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad, known as Ibnu 'l-Ḥaġġaġ. We read in the *Yatimah-ad-Dahr* (2, 285): 'There is not seen the like of his might (that is, the might of Ibnu 'l-Ḥaġġaġ) with regard to the meanings he intends by his elegancies, along with the eloquence, sweetness, and orderliness of the expressions in the string of witticisms and elegancies, and that it was free from weakness, mixed with the language of the Ḥuldīyīn,³ the "molested" and the people of trickery.'

It is to be understood that the language of the *Beni Sāsān* is now Arabic, that is, the language of the *Kāulīyah* in these countries resembles completely the language named, and perhaps many of the expressions mentioned are current on their tongues.

6. The Numbers of the Gypsies

From what has gone before, you have learned that the Gypsies have different names in different countries, and that they consist of nomadic tribes and families. For this reason we have to speak of their number in the order of those names in those countries and districts. We have said that the name *Nawar* belongs to them especially in the land of Syria, but we have no information as to their number there, just as we have not come upon a mention of

¹ *tanādar*: to relate strange things. ² *taḥaffaḥ kullaha*: that is, it was kept in mind by memory, or he committed it to memory little by little.

³ *al-Ḥuldīyīn*. In an old copy in the possession of a man of learning in Baghdād this appears as *al-Ḥalīdīn*. Both are pure, correct of the Beni Sāsān. As regards derivation, it is from the form *ḥalada* or *aḥlada*, [he abode] in the land, when he betook himself to it or repaired to the world or to the lower part, as if it was the condition of the Beni Ġabra.

the number of the *Ġaġar* in the land of Egypt. But the number of the *Karbāt* in the neighbourhood of Aleppo *aš-Šahba'*, according to what I have heard from a friend, reaches the amount of 120 tents. The number of the *Karatch* comes to 150 tents, spending the summer in the mountains of *Zūzān*; these mountains extend in length from *Su'rat* to Lake Van, and in breadth from the Euphrates to Persia (so I was told; but I would like to see written authority to confirm this curious name), and they spend the winter on *El-Dašt*,¹ and encamp in five villages of these lands. The number of the *Muṭriba* reaches 200 tents; they are in the neighbourhood of six villages of the mountains of *Zūzān* in summer and of *El-Dašt*¹ in winter.

The number of the *Ġu'aidīyah* reaches 80 tents; they are in Mesopotamia and some villages of Syria. The number of the *Ġangānah* in the vilayet of *Moṣul* is 60 tents, no more. The number of the *Kāulīyah* in the country of the Bedawin, 'Irāk, Mesopotamia, and the desert of Syria, is 1500 tents, as one of them told me. He did not know the ground for this statement correctly, but I do not consider it strange that they should in reality be numerous in these Arab provinces. The present number of the *Zutt* in the neighbourhood of *Boṣra* does not amount to 70 tents. The number of the *Šāhsawan* in the north of Persia is 320 tents; the *Fuyūġ* reach 45 dwellings, the *Tāt* 500 tents, and the *Kuṣṣ* or *Kuṣ* 280. The number of the *Kantchū* or *Posha* amounts to 170 tents. Naturally, all these numbers are not definitely accurate; for those from whom I asked for details about the number of these peoples are friends of mine scattered in these countries, and they do not come in contact with the Gypsies except from a distance.

7. Their Dress

These people have no dress peculiar to them. The dress of the Gypsies in the country of the Arabs does not differ in aught from the garb of the people of the country; that means a head-shawl or head-band with which the head is bound, and a long gown with a girdle at the waist. Over the gown is a cloak, and no more. The dress of the women is like that of the Arab women, a shift, a bodice, a head-covering, and a veil, nothing else. As to the

¹ *Dašt* is Persian for *desert*. It may be a proper or a common noun here.—
R. A. S. M.

Gypsies who are in Persia and surrounding countries, their dress is like that of the Kurds, that is, you find on their heads a *kulāh* (the *kulāh* is a long, round cap, of felt or similar stuff) or a *kummah*, flat or circular. It is generally of felt. On both of these is bound a wrapper of some sort of woven stuff. They have also a short gown, the upper part in Kurdmān fashion, and a broad woven girdle. They like bright-coloured garments that can be seen from a distance. For encamping they have a blanket, a kind of cloak made of felt, which they call *kubnah* or *chubnah*, and this they wear in the winter time. The dress of their women is like that of the Kurdish women, which is very like the dress of the Arab women.

Their dress generally has not a special appearance, but they wear what comes to them, stealing it or plundering it, or whatever they can lay hands on, no matter what its colour or sort or raggedness. Those of them who are in the mountains take the weapons best known in the country they are in, and similarly they take weapons in their distant journeys.

8. *Their Features*

The *Beni Sāsān* have features that do not tend to change wherever they go or wherever they remove, as if the climate and the soil of the countries did not act upon these people as on the rest of God's creation, for the cut of the Gypsies of the mountains is like that of the Gypsies of the plains, and the features of the Gypsies of the north like those of the Gypsies of the south. The first distinction they have is the dusky colour or copperiness of their appearance, and the lankness and leanness of their bodies. In all the lands I have trodden I have not seen a Gypsy white in colour or fat in body, though I have rambled in most of the European countries and in most of those of the Nearer East. Others of their distinguishing characteristics are tallness of stature, slenderness, the whiteness of their well-set teeth, the width of the jaws, the thinness of the lips, the equality of the nostrils along with the strength of the cartilage and the tip, and the length and slenderness of the tongue; indeed of most of them the saying is true that they can touch the cartilage of the nose with their tongue. The hair of their heads is thick, black as coal, and does not hang. Their eyes are black, the eye-sockets sunken; their eyebrows mostly long and bushy, and the cavities

of their ears are small and thin. They are bright of face, thin in the legs, slender of waist, with graceful and flexible fingers and elegant joints. In their limbs they have liveliness, gracefulness, quickness of movement, and ability for strange turns, distortions, and twistings, the like of which is not seen in all the rest of God's creation. This is the cause of their ease in wonderful actions and fantastic movements, in which only a few (that might be reckoned on the fingers) are able to compete with them. They train their children, female and male, from earliest youth to such-like things, as leading up to the vanities which they purpose later.

(To be continued)

V.—THE LAST JOURNEY

WHEN we were children, my sister and I, we were very fond of playing a certain flower-game before it was time to get up in a morning. The idea was that every woman, girl or child resembled in some degree some particular flower; even if the flower were but a plantain or a thistle. One would ask: 'Who is like a white rose?' or, 'What girl is like a tiger-lily?' and the other must guess the name.

Well, I think if ever a woman could be likened to a flower, to one of her own pansies, in fact, that she loved to paint, it would be she who has just passed on ahead of us Travellers to the next great camping-ground, Eliza Goddard, the flower-painter, sister and life-long companion of Amelia Goddard, the Gypsy-painter of the New Forest.

Sixty years ago she was still more like to a blue-eyed pansy, for she was the prettiest girl in all her native town of Christchurch, and beloved by a host of admirers. Yet, though marriage was fated to be forbidden ground to her by this reason or by that, none could say that her life was a whit less interesting or eventful on that account. Probably it was a great deal more 'storyish' than that of most married women. All the more so because she wore 'the white flower of a blameless life,' and therefore her horizon had, spiritually and mentally speaking, no limitations.

Only a few days ago I heard a very sweet unfinished story, as we sat in her little studio where the bunches of Félicité roses drooped out over the windows, looking in vain for her where the

empty chair stood by the empty easel. Yet not quite empty either, for it bore this story. Almost exactly sixty years ago—for she was but fifteen at the time—a young artist, who had been working with her in Christchurch Priory, painted her face as the angel's face in his picture of a soul being borne away to Paradise. The 'Spirit's Flight' it was called, and it hung on an Academy wall the next year; or, at all events, not long before he died. Whether she ever guessed his feeling for her and responded to it in her heart of hearts, or whether she meekly and obediently yielded up her wishes to the seemingly cruel decision that kept them both thereafter apart, can never be known. Perhaps she was as entirely unconscious of his love as she of the song, '*Ma Vie a son Secret*,' who after reading the outpourings of her friend's passion for herself in verse and music, innocently asks, '*Qui est cette femme-là ?*' But after the young artist's death by fever, perhaps a year later, his sisters brought her this easel, the easel he used to work on, in remembrance of the love he bore her—unspoken, unwritten, unconsummated; yet he may be awaiting her at the Journey's End.

And when she fared forth on this last long journey some of the Gypsies whose friend she was (and of whom also she was a most truthful and exquisite portrayer) came to the door bitterly weeping, with sprigs of holly in their hands; it seemed as if these holly-sprigs were for her to throw down, as the *patran* by which they must follow her lead when the time should come.

With these Gypsies now, her sister, the Gypsy-painter, arousing herself from her tear-wet pillow after a night of sorrow, goes out on the wild and lonely moors in her own little Yellow Caravan these Midsummer mornings, there to try and console herself and forget her grief by continuing her picture of the dawning day. . . . A Gypsy throng have halted on the Forest moor, and are unharnessing the horses and lighting fires in the misty lifting of the light. . . .

When we ourselves follow on by the guiding *patran* of the crossed twigs, and are called on to '*atsh a kûshi*' from our wanderings in the light of a new day, 'as a morning that arises without clouds,' may our resting-place be like hers who has journeyed on before us—may it be, in H. H. Malleeson's old Romani-chal's last words: 'A very beautiful *atshin-tan*, as beautiful as my God's own place!'

ALICE E. GILLINGTON.

REVIEWS

Les Bohémiens ou Égyptiens dans le Hainaut. By GONZALES DECAMPS. An essay dated 15 Janvier, 1907, and printed in the *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, vol. xli. (Mons, Léon Dequesne, 1913.)

AFTER the baseless speculations of van Elven it is a pleasure to receive from Belgium this modest but admirable paper, the result of researches in the archives of Mons. Monsieur Decamps has discovered the important facts that the Duke Michael claimed to be brother to the Duke Andrew, and that the former, Bataillard's hesitation notwithstanding (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 330), was the same as the Sire Miquiel, Prince de Latinghem, who was at Tournai on September 30, 1421. Before their supposed visits to Rome (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 369), whither Andrew went via Bologna (July 18, 1422) and Michael via Basle (July 16, 1422), both these noblemen received the hospitality of Mons:

A Andriu, ducq de la petite Egipte et ses gens, qui, le mercredi viij octobre [1421], vinrent à Mons sur le viesprée et y demeurèrent jusqu'à samedi en suivant et se partirent du matin. Etaient environ quatre-vingt et disoit on que pour leu soustenir le foy crestyenne, il avoient par les Sarasins estet deboutet et escachiet de leur pays que ravoit ne povoient, si ce n'estoit par le ayde et confort del Empereur et des boins crestiens, ainsi que par lettres don dit Empereur et del evesque de Merbonne [? Narbonne] apparoit . . . xxv lb.

A Miquiel, frère au dit duc [Andriu] le mardi xxj octobre [1421] ensuivant qui vient à Mons, avoacq environ soixante personnes et le jeudi ensuivant se partirent . . . [amount not stated]

Comte de la massarderie de Mons, pour 1420-1421.

Duke Michael returned to the Low Countries in 1439, for his presence in Utrecht is mentioned in that year, and Monsieur Decamps has found a record of his visit to Mons, with a troop of forty persons, on March 15.

The later references to Gypsies, about a dozen in number, are less interesting because the names of the leaders are unmentioned. Every few years the town was put to the expense of appeasing bands of these wanderers, with money always, once with beer and bread as well. But increasing fear of their thefts often led the citizens to drive them away, or the magistrates to make speedy departure a condition of their alms,¹ until on April 16,

¹ Hampe quotes a similar case from Bamberg in 1462, where alms were given to Gypsies 'darum, dass sie von Stund an hinweg Schieden und die Gemein unbeschädigt liessen.'—*Fahrende Leute*, 1902, p. 80.

1500, the archduke issued an order by which 'voulant soulager ses sujets de foules et d'oppressions, il ordonnait qu'un certain nombre de gens, hommes, femmes et enfants, se disant de la nation d'Égypte, logés au pays de Hainaut, en partissent dans le délai de huit jours, sous peine de la hart.'

Monsieur Decamps makes an ingenious suggestion as to the reasons which may have induced the public to give Gypsies the name of Egyptians, or the Gypsies to assume it: 'Depuis les croisades, surtout celle de saint Louis (1250), on s'occupait beaucoup en Europe de l'Égypte et des contrées circonvoisines, surtout des populations chrétiennes mystérieuses que l'on disait exister au midi de cette contrée. Le royaume du prêtre Jean, que depuis on a cru identifier avec la Haute-Égypte et l'Abyssinie, habitées par des chrétiens coptes, intriguait fort nos aïeux. Quelques voyageurs disaient l'avoir visité et en contaient merveilles. D'autre part, des seigneurs ou des moines, du moins se disant tels, prétendant venir de cette contrée, arrivaient de temps à autre dans nos villes qui les festoyaient. Le souci de communiquer avec ces prétendus catholiques, hanta, pendant près de trois siècles, l'attention de l'Occident. Et l'on comprend l'intérêt qui s'attacha d'abord aux pseudo-Égyptiens, lors de leurs premières apparitions.' Similarly he connects the name 'Bohemian' with the interest that was then taken in Bohemia owing to the heresy of the Hussites.

Gypsies are now rare in Belgium; but that they once took a prominent part in country life is proved by the fact that the Gypsies of Hainaut have left traces of their presence in the names of hamlets and farms: *Cense d'Égypte*, *Couture d'Égypte*, *Fermes de la Haute et de la Basse Égypte* (often spelt *Gippe*).

This scholarly little paper shows once more—what cannot be shown too often—that until the city archives of Europe have been examined, it is vain to attempt to write the medieval history of the Gypsies. For his welcome contribution to the materials for that history Monsieur Decamps deserves the gratitude of all students of the Gypsies.

Religious Tracts in Romani

The enthusiasm and perseverance which Herr Reinhold Urban brings to the creation of a vernacular Christian literature in

Romani is beyond praise. His latest publication is an attractive pamphlet, with coloured illustrations such as the Gypsies will love, in which no *gadžo* word is used until, lurking shamefacedly at the foot of the last page, one finds: 'Leben Jesu in Romani (Zigeunerisch), Ober-Ungarn. 10 fillér.' The tract itself is entitled *Le Devleskero Čavo, Leskero uljolape, džiben tai meriben. Njomdo andal o foros Dinglingen (Baden)*. It is written in Romani so pure that it will probably be intelligible throughout a large area of *Romanipé*, and the changes which would be necessary to adapt it to the idiom of many other tribes are so insignificant that they could easily be made while reading. The little book can be obtained from the Buchhandlung des Gemeinschaftsvereins, Wesdner Strasse 19, Chemnitz, and should be in the library of every Romany Rye.

Through the Scripture Gift Mission, 15 Strand, London, Herr Urban has published also *O Drom la Viacakro* containing the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and other passages from the Bible, in the Siebenbürgen dialect of Romani.

NOTES AND QUERIES

3.—ROYAL FAVOURS TO SCOTTISH GYPSIES

It is almost universally accepted that the Scottish Privy Council writs of 1540 and 1553 are beams of 'the full sunshine of royal favour' in which the early Gypsies are supposed to have basked (MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*, pp. 39 and 42). Yet even MacRitchie, the careful historian of the Scottish branch of the race, had difficulty in reconciling this view with the fact that Gypsies were already recognized in Scotland as thieves and house-breakers. He shows some surprise that 'the whole legal machinery of the realm of Scotland should be made subservient to the will of a Gypsy chief' (p. 51), and is driven to assume that James v. was overruled by his councillors, in order to explain the issue by him in 1541 of letters for expelling the very Egyptians to whom he had granted privileges the year before (p. 40).

The difficulty is caused by regarding too closely the stereotyped politeness of the writs, and disregarding their real aim. They are, in fact, of a piece with the rest of Gypsy legislation (though expressed courteously because the Gypsies were not then outlaws), and were intended to effect the same result as the letters of 1541, which would therefore produce no 'complete reversal of the Gypsies' position' (p. 40).

The case was probably thus: These soi-disant natives of 'Litill Egipt' professed at that time to be travelling only temporarily in Scotland; and Scotland's king, having discovered their character, was anxious to speed his parting guests. But Johnne Faw was no less ingenious than MacLeod's friends who, when in 1908 the Board of Health wished to drive them from West Roxbury, U.S.A., alleged that there had been a robbery, and demanded leave to stay another week in order

to search for the stolen property (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 88 f.n.). Johnne had both a robbery and a schism, and pretended to the king that he was 'bunding and oblist to bring hame with him all thame of his cumpany that ar on live, and ane testimoniales of thame that are deid,' but that 'Sebastiane Lalow, Egiptiane . . . with his complices and part-takaris' having 'removit thame alluterly out of his cumpany,' he could 'on na wys . . . apprehend nor get thame to haue thame hame agane within thaire awin cuntre.' In consequence, of course, he was detained in Scotland against his will in order to recapture the deserting members of his troop. Under the circumstances it was natural that King James should give him every assistance in his power, not out of friendship, but in the hope of 'furing of thame furth of oure realme to the partis bezond sey.'

It is improbable that Johnne Faw made any attempt to arrest the recalcitrant Sebastiane Lalow: he intended that the writ should be ineffectual. He seems to have found means to render the letters of expulsion of 1541 ineffectual too, for in 1553 he was still in Scotland, and very impudently played on Queen Mary's regent the same trick as he had played on James v. He obtained a second writ against his rebel subjects in almost exactly the same terms as the first, presumably by methods such as both Gypsies and *gadžos* then used to procure 'respites and remissions for murder and other odious crimes,' or as Sebastiane himself 'be sinister and wrang information, fals relatioun and circumventioun' had 'purchest' the king's writings.

NORDIC.

[This is exactly the view taken by James Simson. See Walter Simson, *A History of the Gipsies*, p. 103, footnote.—ED.]

4.—GYPSIES IN THE BALKANS

Monsieur Emile de Laveleye, author of *The Balkan Peninsula* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887), frequented the society of high officials and hesitated to leave the beaten track for fear of brigands, so that he saw and heard little but what the enemies of the Turks judged to be good for his eyes and ears. By some accident, however, he caught a few glimpses of Gypsies, and mentions them occasionally in his book. Among the five patients in Bishop Strossmayer's hospital at Djakovo he found 'a gipsy, who was suffering from bronchitis' (p. 54), and at a well in Sarajevo he noticed that a group of people, including 'a gipsy, only dressed in a half-open tunic, were filling vases of ancient shape' (p. 90). He accompanied the King and Queen of Serbia to a village festival near Belgrade, and recorded that the musicians were Gypsies and that 'the young *Tsiganes* girls, clad in red and yellow stuffs,' joined in the dance (p. 184). At Pirot, in the Bulgarian part of Serbia, 'thirty or forty families of Tzigane Mussulmans have settled . . . and become agriculturists. One has been made judge. At Négotine a Tzigane is attached to the law court' (pp. 232-3). And in describing Ichtiman (Eastern Rumelia), he mentions that 'In the outskirts the Tzigany, who are Mussulmans, live in reed huts. There they are, always the same, with their tawny complexion, wooly hair, bright-coloured clothes, and numerous children crawling naked in the dust—true Indian Sudras' (p. 269).

The author reports also several facts that may have a bearing on the origin of customs observed among Gypsies. The peasant women at the village of Siroko-Polje, near Djakovo, 'wore gold and silver money threaded and hung round the head, neck, and waist. The richest have two or three rows—quite a treasure of precious metal!' (p. 59), and at Sarajevo 'the wives of the *rayas* [peasants] wear strung money, when they dare, and have it left.' At Pirot the belts of the women were 'fastened by immense copper or silver buckles of fine workmanship' (p. 232,

cf. *J. G. L. S.*, vii. 55). On p. 201 he mentions that the public health authorities in Serbia had forbidden the custom, usually observed by the orthodox everywhere, of carrying the dead to the cemetery in an open coffin; and at Pirot he found that 'on the anniversaries [of a death] the favourite food of the deceased is distributed to the poor' (p. 231).

27th Nov. 1913.

5.—ALBANIAN GYPSIES

In Miss M. E. Durham's *The Burden of the Balkans* (Nelson, 1905) there are a few references to Gypsies, which, though of little value, may as well be gathered into the basket here with the other scraps. They are all in that part of the book which treats of Albania.

Page 268.—'The gipsy women of the town [Permeti] served as painters—swarthy, bright-eyed things in baggy breeches, as active as monkeys, who rushed about wielding their whitewash brushes with the greatest glee, chattering gaily the while.'

Page 284.—'Thus we whiled away the time waiting for the river [Viosa] to sink. There was nothing to eat, and the sun came out hot, so I went to sleep on the suvarri's big sheepwool cloak, till I was awakened by wild yells. The caik had started from the other side, a huge and heavy, flat-bottomed barge, and was being whirled down-stream at a fearful pace.

"They will all drown!" cried my guide, and he prayed aloud as they dashed straight at the piers of the bridge. Loud yells, an exciting second or two, they steered cleverly, shot safely through, paddling violently, and landed, some way below, triumphant—a wild set of black gipsies, ragged, half-stripped savages—and towed the barge upstream level with the point they had started from. The suvarri leapt his gray horse into the caik, a gipsy bent to give me a pick-a-back. "You are really going?" said my poor guide, as they dumped us both on board.

'I was so eager to buzz through the bridge with that crew of the "devil's own" that I did not realize till we were shoving off how really nervous the poor man was, and repented I had dragged him into danger. He buried his head in his hands; we whirled down-stream; the gipsies paddled for their lives, and the sweat poured off them as, with a supreme effort, they wrenched the caik round; it shot clear between two piles, and reached the further bank in a few seconds.'

Page 288.—'Now Ali's konak [in Tepelen] is a huge heap of ruins, and within his fortifications dwells a horde of filthy gipsies of a low and most villainous-looking type. These form the bulk of the inhabitants. One hundred gipsy houses, seventy Moslem Albanian, and thirty Christian, make up all the town. These latter have the bazar and such trade as the place carries on. The Kaimmakam and the gipsies alone dwell within Ali's walls.'

Page 315.—'Fieri is a big village belonging to a very enterprising Beg who wants to make it a trade centre, and has rebuilt all the market-place with large solid-looking houses of stone, which have a surprisingly up-to-date appearance. It was all agog with Easter Monday, and reminded me of "Benkoliday," so gay it was. I heard music that twanged and squealed like bagpipes. It was an Albanian gipsy-band with four performers: two guitars, a violin, and a sort of clarionet. It came out and performed for my special benefit. I asked for Albanian music only. The clarionet squealed a jiggle-jaggle, bagpipey air, and the stringed instruments went buzz, buzz, buzz with great vigour. The performers burst into song, and sang until the sweat poured down them. The crowd, in its best fustanellas, applauded and kept its eyes fixed on me. When I paid for this treat, the leader of the band clapped the coin on his sticky sweaty forehead, and withdrew backwards, fiddling, thus adorned.'

Page 359.—‘A pack of gipsies were camped close by [between Kruja and Skodra]. The Mirdite hailed a small boy and began to chaff him. The little “gippo,” lean, black, and monkey-like, came up cautiously. He was nine years old, he said. His brown hide showed through his ragged shirt, and he had a big pistol stuck in his sash. He snarled till his white teeth glittered, clapped his hand on his pistol, and said he could shoot us if he liked. I asked if it were really loaded, and the Mirdite was of opinion that if he were teased enough he would shoot for certain. Hand on weapon, the little wild animal swaggered off defiant.’

18th Aug. 1914.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

6.—TYPICAL COMPOUNDS IN COPPERSMITH ROMANI

Brugmann¹ has declared that ‘no hard and fast line can be drawn between a phrase or group of words connected in some syntactical relation, and a compound,’ but where the inter-relations of the words in a phrase or a group are not expressed inflexionally there can be no doubt that we have to deal with a genuine compound. Brugmann adds² that ‘it is equally impossible to draw a hard and fast line between a compound and a simple word. One part of a compound is reduced or degraded to a suffix or prefix, or generally to an inflexional element, by losing in some way or other its connexion with the simple word in the consciousness of the speaker.’ We may, however, exclude from present consideration all cases of word *plus* inflexional ending, since these would lead us too far afield.

In Coppersmith Romani compounds appear showing most of the possible varieties with which the student of Indo-European grammar is acquainted. The purpose of this note is to present a classification of these varieties as an aid to clearer comprehension. Failing such comprehension, there is a danger of rash emendations being made to texts. We may begin by distinguishing co-ordinating from subordinating compounds.

Co-ordinating compounds, called by the Sanskrit grammarians *dvandva*, are those in which the two members stand side by side on the same level and may be regarded as joined together by ‘and,’ occasionally by ‘or.’ For example, the Latin *duodecim*, ‘two (and) ten,’ and the Yorkshire dialectical ‘a two-three’ meaning ‘two or three.’ In my grammar (*J. G. L. S.*, vii. 132) I instanced from Anglo-Romani the compound *kil-mâťó*, ‘bread (and) butter.’ In Coppersmith Romani the only examples of *dvandva* I can find are the Russian loan *arjól-arjěška*, ‘head (or) tail,’ and the word *sastivasto*, ‘healthy.’ The latter I am inclined to think should be written *sastevasto*. It consists of the two words *sasto* (*šasto*) and *vesto*, both meaning healthy, recorded by Paspatis as *sastó vestó*, ‘sain et sauf.’ (See Mik., viii. s.vv.)

Subordinating compounds occur more frequently and exhibit their formation in all stages from the conscious juxtaposition of two words in syntactical relation but without inflexional modification to compounds in which the consciousness of the origin of one of the elements has been completely lost. In them one member containing the principal idea is more closely defined by the other which is an adjunct subordinated to it. *Kotor manro*, ‘piece (of) bread,’ is a compound of this nature. The principal idea is conveyed by *kotor*, but this is defined or particularized by the subordinate but uninflected *manro*. Here no doubt, as also in *kompania Nikola*, ‘company (of) Nikola,’ and *kila mas*, ‘pound (of) meat,’ the two elements are still independent words in the consciousness of the speaker. Similarly *ada dives*, ‘to-day,’ is understood to consist of two words *ada*, ‘this,’ and *dives*, ‘day,’ so it may be

¹ *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, English translation by Conway and Rouse, New York, 1891. Vol. ii. section 3.

² *Ibid.*, section 4.

argued that here is no true compound. But the next step produces a compound that is beyond suspicion, viz., *adjes*, 'to-day,' where the consciousness of the identity of the two members as separate words appears to be almost if not completely lost. *Kelane*, 'together,' used both of place and of number, when used instead of the logical *dui* (*trin*, etc.) *zene*, 'two (three, etc.) people,' is not consciously analysed into its component parts. It goes back, in fact, to an early stage in the development of this dialect, when we may suppose locatives were as frequently used as they are to-day in the Romani of Gilliat-Smith's *Bulgarian Romani Tales*, and when the numeral *jekh*, 'one,' was regularly declined as an epithet, for *ketane* stands for *jekhe thane*, 'in one place,' *jekh* being in the oblique form in apposition to the locative case of *thane*.

Besides the division of compounds into co-ordinating and subordinating, we may make a further distinction between non-epithetized and epithetized compounds.

Compounds which change their meaning on becoming compounds, and are so to say specialized, are called epithetized, or according to the Sanskrit grammarians *bahuvrihi* compounds. An English example will make this clear. 'Fat' and 'head' when compounded do not mean 'a head that is fat' but 'a stupid person'; the meaning is changed. Both subordinating and co-ordinating compounds containing substantives are found with the epithetized meaning in the Indo-European languages, e.g., *δυδρό-γυνος*, 'man-woman,' used to denote 'a bath for both sexes': Latin *magnopere*, 'exceedingly,' for *magno opere*, 'with much work.'

We have several examples of *bahuvrihi* compounds, the most obvious of which perhaps is *bi-boldo*, 'not baptized,' used as a synonym for *židov*, 'Jew.' This is worth careful analysis. The element *bi* is not used as an independent word. Already in the period before the development of Romani it had sunk from an independent word to a mere negative prefix. The second element is a past participle from the verb *bolava*, 'I baptize,' but by becoming epithetized the whole compound has now to all practical purpose lost conscious connexion in the mind of many Gypsies with the thought of baptism. Other examples are *ketane* already discussed; *konik*, 'any one,' from *kon*, 'who,' and *jekh*, 'one'; *sako djes*, 'every day,' epithetized 'for ever'; *ka-ring*, 'this way,' literally 'on this side'; and *paš-rat*, 'half-night,' epithetized 'midnight.'

When a word is compounded with itself the process is called reduplication, and originally this conveyed an intensive meaning. Later, however, most of these reduplications became worn down in form and lost their special force.

In the ballad 'The Conscript' (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 317) there is a good example of reduplication where each member is still an independent word: *rano raninko*, 'early, very early.' Curiously enough my manuscript of the ballad shows a queer parallel to this. I find written *rano raninko tihara tumāra mōni mōni*. The three last words are an attempt at an English translation of the three Romani words, and are a mispronunciation by the Gypsy reciter of 'to-morrow morning morning.' Besides being an amusing instance of the kind of pitfall into which an unwary recorder may stumble—it was indeed one of the first two texts that I recorded—this translation shows an attempt to reproduce the reduplication of the original. Examples of reduplication that have long ago, probably in the pre-Romani period, lost their special force, are *balval*, 'wind,' *bibi*, 'aunt,' while *palpale*, 'again,' for *pale-pale* is probably still felt to have some measure of intensive force. *Bumbolosko* may be a reduplication with *b* strengthened to *mb* as in *ambold*, 'to return.' If this is so, then the root word must be **bolos* or **bulos*. In any case it is a loan-word.

It will have been noticed that one of the elements in compounds is frequently shortened, contracted, or worn down to what is almost a prefix or a suffix. When such a worn-down form can be used with other words to make new compounds, then it has practically become a real prefix or suffix. Thus *bi*, 'without,' is a prefix, being used with a number of words, and being no doubt capable of being prefixed to any noun, adjective, or participle whatever, as well as to several of the

pronouns. In this connexion it is interesting to note how in some compounds one member is still an independent word while in others it has become almost a prefix or suffix. Compare *duma dav*, 'I speak,' *tšingar dav*, 'I cry,' with *tšumidav*, 'I kiss,' *inter alia*. So also *oxto-var-deš*, 'eighty,' still consciously compounded of three words, though the accent on *var*, 'time,' suggests that it is in process of becoming a simple compound, is to be compared with *duvar*, 'twice,' for *dui var*, *trivar*, 'thrice,' for *trin var*. In *pirango*, 'barefoot,' from *piro*, 'foot,' and *nango*, 'naked,' we have one example at least in which both members of a compound have become so worn down that it is possible for a Romani speaker to be unconscious of the derivation of the word.

Attention to the laws of human speech which govern the production of compounds will help to protect Romani from such pedantic emendations as writing *Romano žal* for the familiar *Romanichal*. In the sequel to 'Lavengro,' for all his linguistic sins, George Borrow may conceivably have broken no syntactical concord, but rather have used a genuine compound, when, in place of the *Romano raj* of the study, he immortalized the 'Romany Rye' of the tents.

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

4th May 1914.

7.—GYPSY BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dr. Black hopes to publish an appendix to his *Gypsy Bibliography*, and for this purpose he will be grateful to any one who will send to him details of books relating to Gypsies, which either do not appear in his list, or were published subsequently. An exact transcript of the title-page should be given, number of pages, size of page, and a short note as to the value of the contents for Gypsy studies. Such information may be sent to the Hon. Secretary, or to G. F. Black, Esq., Ph.D., New York Public Library, New York, U.S.A.

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began in 1888 and ended in 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several of the numbers, at the original cost of 5s. each.

The New Series of the Journal began in July 1907, four parts and a supplementary index-part making an annual volume. Copies can still be obtained at the subscription price of £1 for each volume, but they are sold only to members of the Gypsy Lore Society. Single parts cannot always be supplied: when copies are available for sale to members the price is 5s. each, with the exception of the index-parts of Vols. I., III., and IV., for which only 2s. 6d. is charged.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. VIII

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No. 3

ENGLISH GYPSY FOLK-TALES, AND OTHER TRADITIONAL STORIES

Collected by THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON, M.A.

PREFATORY NOTES

I

ONE might almost think that the English Gypsies¹ possessed as poor a stock of folk-tales as the people amongst whom, and upon whom, they have lived so long, for the number of such tales already published is very small. Their existence was first made known, more than fifty years ago now, by Campbell of Islay, as Groome has previously pointed out.² In his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*³ Campbell told how he made the acquaintance in London of two Gypsy tinkers, William and Solomon Johns, who, after some persuasion, and the provision of beer and tobacco,

¹ The term 'English Gypsies' is used here in its widest sense, and must be taken as including: (i) members of 'roadster' families who have associated and inter-married with Gypsies, and partially acquired their language; (ii) members of all Gypsy families now found mainly in Wales, with the exception of the descendants of Abram Wood.

² *Gypsy Folk-Tales* (London, 1899), p. xlv.

³ (4 vols. Edinburgh, 1860-62), vol. iv. p. 431.

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recounted seven folk-tales to Dasent and himself. A brief account of these was naturally the very most that Campbell could be expected to give in a work dealing with the popular fictions of the Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of the West Highlands of Scotland; and what he actually did give was either the title or a very short summary in each case, together with a few parallels;¹ but that neither he nor the author of *Popular Tales from the Norse* should ever publish these Gypsy folk-tales at all is very surprising. Quite probably Campbell never even wrote them out in full, for Groome could not find them amongst his MSS. preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. The brothers Johns knew a great many more tales, but apparently they were allowed to keep them to themselves as far as Campbell and Dasent were concerned.² Coming as it did from two such eminent folk-tale enthusiasts and scholars this was a bad lead, and, which was even more unfortunate, it was followed for the next thirty years—years all but barren of results, in spite of the fact that Groome and Leland were then at work amongst English Gypsies. During this period Groome published the now well-known Lying Tales about Appy Boswell's grinding barrow, dog and donkey,³ and Leland some very doubtful short stories, mostly Apologues,⁴ but that was all. That Groome

¹ Reprinted by Groome in *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. xlv-vi.

² In 1860 Campbell heard from a London tinker, who cannot be claimed as a Gypsy, a version of 'The Man who Travelled to Learn what Shivering Meant' (Groome, *ibid.*, p. xlvii; Campbell, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. xlvii). 'Mumpers' of all classes appear to know a considerable number of folk-tales, but they have been little troubled by the collector. Mr. John Myers tells me that he has quite recently obtained *Märchen* from Archie MacAllister, a Shelta-speaking horse-dealer, from an Irish 'busker,' and from a Yorkshire oilcloth, rug, and pot hawker named Ashton. Ashton's tales, three in number, he has kindly placed at my disposal, as they were possibly picked up by Ashton from some member or members of the Gray family.

³ In *Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1880), pp. 160-1. Reprinted in *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 129-130.

⁴ These stories are contained in the last section of *The English Gipsies and their Language* (London and New York, 1873). To what extent they are Matty Cooper's, and to what 'The Rai's,' it is impossible to say. Concerning them Leland writes (p. 201): 'The Gipsy to whom I was chiefly indebted for the material of this book frequently narrated to me the *Gudli* or small stories current among his people, and being a man of active, though childlike imagination, often invented others of a similar character. Sometimes an incident or a saying would suggest to me the outline of a narrative, upon which he would eagerly take it up, and readily complete the tale. But if I helped him sometimes to evolve from a hint, a phrase, or a fact, something like a picture, it was always the Gipsy who gave it Rommany characteristics, and conferred colour. It was often very difficult for him to distinctly recall an old story or clearly develop anything of the kind, whether it involved an effort of memory or of the imagination, and here he required aid.'

'How Petalengro went to Heaven,' as given by Smart and Crofton in *The Dialect of the English Gypsies* (London, 1875), pp. 219-20, is not claimed by the authors as a Gypsy tale: it was taken from Hone's *Every-Day Book*, and turned into Romani.

should know the Locks so intimately, and yet not discover that at least one member of the family narrated folk-tales is almost unaccountable. At last, however, in 1892, something was really done, for in that year Mr. (now Dr.) John Sampson printed in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*¹ three *Märchen*: 'De Little Fox,' obtained from Wasti Gray, *née* Lee, and 'Bobbie Rag' and 'De Little Bull Calf' from her husband, Johnny Gray, who also recounted 'The Horse that Coined Golden Guineas,' the notes of which were lost.² Dr. Sampson followed up this success by collecting in 1897 five or six folk-tales from Cornelius Price, of which four—'Ashypelt' (No. 57), 'Jack the Robber' (No. 68. See also No. 12), 'The Tinker and his Wife' (No. 70), and 'The Black Dog of the Wild Forest' (No. 72)—and also a very interesting fragment, were included by Groome in his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*.³ 'Cornelius assures me that his youngest brother knows from thirty to fifty very long tales,' Dr. Sampson wrote to Groome,⁴ and had not Matthew Wood proved a superior attraction he would, no doubt, have waylaid this youngest brother, and robbed him of every one. This is work that still remains to be done, after a lapse of nearly twenty years. Since the revival of the Gypsy Lore Society Mr. John Myers has published one *Märchen* and one short Droll from Syrenda Lovell,⁵ and the Rev. George Hall some new Appy Boswell stories, and two or three other short Lying Tales.⁶

Account has so far been taken only of that class of traditional stories which may be described as tales told for amusement, the class to which the new *Handbook of Folklore*⁷ recommends that the term 'folk-tale' should be restricted, and to which I shall restrict it here. Of the other class, tales told as true, or intended to be believed in the first instance, a certain number have been recorded; the best, perhaps, being the myth which explains why the owl is known as the '*Máréngro's Čái*,'⁸ and the legends about Josh Loveridge's supernatural powers.⁹ But whether folk-tales alone be considered, or all traditional stories, the result is the same: the record of the past is disappointing.

¹ Old Series, vol. iii. pp. 199-211. Reprinted in Groome's *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 198-208.

² Groome, *ibid.*, p. lvi.

³ Pp. lvii, 48-9, 235-243, 260-271.

⁴ Groome, *ibid.*, p. lvii.

⁵ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. iv. pp. 272-5, and vol. v. p. 153.

⁶ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. v. p. 160. *The Gypsy's Parson* (London, 1915), pp. 86-7, 182, 256-261.

⁷ (London, 1914), p. 263.

⁸ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. i. p. 90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, New Series, vol. v. pp. 274-9.

II

What has not been done by previous collectors must be done now, and without undue delay, for there is still time to preserve a very considerable number of English Gypsy folk-tales. How large this number is may be judged from the fact that during the six months, August 1914 to January 1915, I recorded, practically from three sources only, more than sixty *Märchen*, Drolls and Lying Tales, as well as a few other traditional stories. This unexpected success is very pleasing to me, but at the same time it redounds but little to my credit, for it has not been due to that copy-book virtue, perseverance, but, in the main at any rate, to that fickle jade Fortune. To make such a confession is a rash act, for Fortune, like the fairies, is reputed to cease her good offices when the recipient allows his tongue to wag about them; but honesty demands it. And now that I have been rash, I might as well hang for a sheep as a lamb. So here is the full story of *My Three Strokes of Luck, and What Resulted*.

My First Stroke of Luck, and What Resulted.—In August 1914 Mr. E. O. Winstedt and I were encamped with Noah Lock in Anglesey, on Rhosneigr Common, which lies between Maelog Lake and the sea. We had been there almost a fortnight, and had drawn out Noah on all manner of topics, and questioned him about them, and even cross-questioned him, so patient and obliging was he. Only two days remained, and then our visit must come to an end; and during those two days we expected to add little to the already large store of very miscellaneous Romany lore that had steadily accumulated in our notebooks. *Märchen*! Drolls! we never thought of trying for these, even though Noah had told us some new Appy Boswell tales, and one good legendary story. It was about midday, and very hot. Noah was sitting making a basket lazily, and badly, and I was sitting near him intermittently shaving down a piece of wood with a peg-knife. (Mr. Winstedt was probably bathing.) We were talking about common acquaintances, chiefly from the personal point of view—Noah's brothers and sisters, Taylors, Lees, Lovells. Then Matthew Wood came up for discussion, and having little knowledge of Matthew's personal peculiarities, faults and failings, I made some remark, in a half-hearted kind of way, about his knowing a lot of old-fashioned tales. 'Aye, he's reckoned a good tale-teller, Mathoo is,' Noah commented; and then after an interval, during which he was struggling with

an obstinate withe, he added: 'I heeard a bit 'n skit wonst myself.' 'O Noah! and what was that?' I asked, but with little interest, for I did not know what he meant by a 'skit.' The word did not suggest folk-tale to me, and I saw no connexion between his last remark and the previous one. 'It's a robber tale,' he said, and then without more ado he related the story of 'The Robber and the Housekeeper,' the first folk-tale of any length that I had ever heard from the lips of an English Gypsy. This was unlooked for and undeserved: it was *My First Stroke of Luck*.

That afternoon Mr. Winstedt and I carefully watched Noah's every movement, until we saw him comfortably seated by the side of the lake. He was not even fishing, an occupation that always annoyed him, since he caught nothing but small eels; he was merely gazing longingly at the place where a motor-lamp had disappeared during a carnival on the previous evening, for the recovery of which a reward of ten shillings was offered. The time seemed opportune, and we sauntered over as nonchalantly as was possible under the circumstances, and sat down beside him. Waiting patiently until his interest in the possibility of fishing up the motor-lamp had evaporated, we asked him to tell us another tale, and very obligingly he told us four. On the following day, as we sat round the fire after dinner, a sixth tale was forthcoming, but there our success ended, for he could recollect no more, though when younger he had known a great many. In time, no doubt, he would have been able to call further tales to mind: unfortunately we could give him no help by relating such ourselves.

My Second Stroke of Luck, and What Resulted.—In September I returned to Gainsborough—and work. Gainsborough is not a good centre for Gypsies—it lies just off the Great North Road—but at Grimsby and Cleethorpes several of the Grays, whose acquaintance I had already made, were encamped. But it was a long way from Gainsborough to Grimsby, and I had little leisure; further, my interest in the war was then at fever height. At the most, I thought of paying just one more visit to these Grays—some day; but nearly a month passed, and that 'some day' had receded almost beyond sight. Then came a letter from the Rev. George Hall asking me to meet him at Cleethorpes, and go with him to see Gus Gray and his wife Polly, who would be leaving shortly. After much vacillation I went. Mr. Hall had to catch a very early train home, and Polly was fully occupied that evening, so I had Gus to myself. I told him one of Noah Lock's tales,

finishing up with that very useful formula: 'Yon brig's bended; my tale's ended; if you can mend it, mend it.' Gus did 'mend' it, though out of politeness he disclaimed having done anything of the kind. I recounted five more of Noah's tales, and 'a tale for a tale' being the custom with the Grays I heard five in return. Then my memory refused to carry any more, and I fled half an hour before it was necessary, in order to jot down roughly a very brief outline of what I had heard. Six fresh tales! And with what skill and ease Gus had narrated them! The *Rasai's* letter had brought me *My Second Stroke of Luck*.

My wife (she was not so in those days) had accompanied me on this excursion, and on every half-holiday that was free from football for the rest of the school term we went over to Grimsby or Cleethorpes together: eight times more in all we went. We had to put up with many discomforts, for we got no proper mid-day meal, and we had to spend half the seven to eight hours that we were away from Gainsborough travelling in depressingly slow trains across depressingly flat country, and it nearly always seemed to be wet and windy and cold and dirty. But what did these things matter when we were engaged in a desperate search for hidden treasure with Time an inveterate enemy! On every single occasion the Grays welcomed us with unfeigned kindness and cheerfulness, and only once did we return without having heard at least one well-told tale. Gus soon left Cleethorpes (not so soon as he had threatened), but we had no time to regret this, for we at once made friends with his sister Eva; and (to adapt one of their folk-tale phrases) 'if Gus was a good tale-teller then Eva was a better,' though there was little to choose between them. And Shanny or Charlie, a brother of Gus and Eva, had a few tales to relate, and was quite a good narrator, whilst even the simple Josh, still another brother, whose usual function was that of prompter and interpolater, added one Droll to our stock. The old mother, Caroline, and her daughter, Elvaira, did not contribute, but from Elvaira's husband, Esau Young, we heard two or three short legendary stories.

Meanwhile Gus had settled down again for a time at Old Radford, a suburb of Nottingham, with his brothers Daiki or Esau and Reuben. 'That's one o' Reuben's tales: you must ask Reuben for that,' the Grimsby colony had said on two or three occasions, following on attempts to tell stories which they could not recollect: and Gus had not quite exhausted his stock-in-trade before leaving Cleethorpes. As soon as term was over then I went to

Nottingham, and in two days gathered in Reuben's tales, and the remainder of Gus's. I had now obtained from this one family alone about forty folk-tales, myths, and legendary stories, of which well over half were of more than average merit. They ranged in length from 'The Seven Brothers,' the narration of which occupied Eva for a full two hours, to Drolls casually thrown off by Gus and Reuben in about as many minutes. Obviously, with the holidays come round again, it was time to try elsewhere, if I wished to add appreciably to my collection.

My Third Stroke of Luck, and What Resulted.—Now Reuben Gray's wife Pin or Athalia is a daughter of old Taimi Boswell, and of Taimi I had heard it said—and Pin confirmed it—that his chief delight was to sit and tell tales all day, which he could do for a week at a time. Neither she nor her brother Bosko or Harry could remember any of these tales, for they had always regarded them as a 'noosance,' but they could, and did, give me some idea as to their father's whereabouts. He was almost sure, they said, to be somewhere in East Lancashire, and most probably in the Blackburn-Accrington neighbourhood. Letters of inquiry addressed to the Chief Constables of Blackburn and Accrington brought a reply from the latter place to the effect that the man I was seeking was at Oswaldtwistle. That I should receive such a reply was, I afterwards discovered, almost a miracle. At the time that my letter arrived the police force at Accrington had never heard of any Gypsy called Taimi Boswell; which is not surprising, seeing that Taimi is known in public life as John Smith. The Chief Constable, however, did not let it rest at that, but handed on the letter to the subordinate in whose beat the large Gypsy encampment at Oswaldtwistle lay, with instructions that he was to make inquiries there. This constable must have been a man of quite unusual intelligence, for, on visiting the Gypsy stopping-place, he did not ask if Taimi Boswell was there, or if any one knew where he was, the answer to which questions would have been an emphatic and unanimous 'No, never heeard 'n the man': instead, he began reading the letter to the first group of Gypsies he encountered, and soon had all the yardful swarming round him, including 'John Smith.' 'John' was interested in the letter, and had it read a second time, because he had missed the beginning. 'Who is dis gentleman what has sont it?' he asked, but as I had never appeared in the dock, the policeman could give him no further information. There was an excited consultation

in Romani, and then 'John Smith' again addressed the constable. 'You can write to de gentleman an' say as Taimi Boswell is here. I knows de man he's a-defarring to, aye, as well as I knows myself. He's away from de place just now, but I can answer for him as he'll be very pleased to see de gentleman.' And so I received the news that Taimi Boswell was at Oswaldtwistle, and when I visited him there he did not belie his reputation as a teller of tales. Thus the intelligence of a policeman was the primary cause of *My Third Stroke of Luck*.

It was early in January when I went to Oswaldtwistle, and the weather was of the worst possible description, for the rain came down in torrents and the wind blew hard, all day and every day. The yard where the Gypsies were staying was ankle-deep in black mud, but inside Taimi's hut (it was made of tent blankets) there was always a big fire burning, and a pile of rugs to lie on. I spent the afternoons and evenings of four days there, and was treated as if I had been a Prodigal Son returned to the bosom of his family, which in this case included no envious brother. During these four days we did little else but tell tales, though there were intervals when I found it necessary to devote my attention to those who took no interest in such things, in order to keep them in a thoroughly good humour with the main business in hand; for they were a little fractious just at first when Taimi ran on for two or three hours at a stretch, and they could not get in a word all the time. During these intervals Taimi invariably fell asleep, worn out by his exertions, for he told his tales with tremendous vigour, shouting and gesticulating the while; but he always woke up renewed in strength, and with a fresh tale on his lips, and it only needed Johnny Smith's cheery but decided 'Now then, Uncle Taini, let's have another,' to start him off again. The atmosphere was infectious, and on the third day this Johnny Smith, who had several times sworn by Heaven and Hell and his dead relations that he knew nothing but true stories, recounted a long *Märchen*; whilst on the fourth day another Smith (?Tommy), who was immensely reserved, and had previously said nothing, though he had always listened to our stories with animation and pleasure, contributed a by no means short tale. From Taimi alone I must, during those four days, have heard quite twenty-five stories of one kind or another, many of them very long, and most of them good. His best tales were even better than the best of those that I had previously heard from the Grays—only a little better, for

they could not be much. As a raconteur he was just about as good as Eva and Gus, and to appraise him thus is to appraise him very highly. On the morning of the fifth day a very unfortunate accident happened to Taimi, and, as he was not likely to be his tale-telling self again for several days, I took my leave, sadly, and with my work not quite finished.

Since this visit to Oswaldtwistle I have had no opportunity at all to collect any more tales, but Mr. Alfred James has kindly sent me one *Märchen*, which he obtained from Jonathan Ayres at Cadoxton, near Barry Dock. I must not, however, do Mr. James the injustice of suggesting that he is a picker-up of folk-tales, for he undertook to pester Jonathan merely to stop my importunity. Further visits to Grimsby, postponed for a time in order to deal with matter already collected, never materialized at all, owing to the withdrawal of the facilities for cheap travelling. We had been expecting to hear one or two fresh Drolls from Eva, and had intended to note down as fully as possible variations in tales as told by different members of the Gray family, and also as related by the same member on different occasions. A second visit to Oswaldtwistle, arranged for the Easter holidays, had to be abandoned owing to my receiving a new appointment just at that time. I am hoping, however, to visit Taimi Boswell before he moves out of his winter quarters this year, for he is a very old man, and avoidable delay would be criminal in his case.¹

In Wales and the Welsh Borders a great many tales are still waiting to be recorded; from the Prices, who undoubtedly have a large stock, from Jonathan Ayres, who knows at least two other long *Märchen*, and possibly also from the Locks, Taylors, Johns, Lovells, and the descendants of Elfer or Alfred Heron. From Gypsies travelling the North of England and the South of Scotland many more ought to be forthcoming, for, by repute at any rate, Bella Gray, who is to be found in Scotland, Saiki Heron, who generally travels the North-East of England and Scotland, Jimmy Smith, whose 'beat' is the six northern counties, and Abraham Lee, who is most frequently in Lancashire in winter and the extreme north of England in summer, are all splendid raconteurs. Is there no one with the necessary leisure (and means) who will undertake this work of gathering in English Gypsy folk-tales before it is too late? Time is the real enemy, for practically all the tale-tellers whom I have seen, or of whom I have heard, are

¹ See Additional Note below.

getting on in years. Both Jimmy Smith and Bella Gray are very old, and cannot reasonably be expected to live much longer: a delay even of a year or two in their cases will probably be fatal.

III.

To induce tale-telling Gypsies to relate their stock of tales is easy; to listen so intently as not to miss a single word, and yet be memorizing fixed phrases, is difficult; to record afterwards, fully and accurately, what you have heard, is impossible. The human memory is a disgracefully inefficient instrument, of which the best that can be said is that its retentive power is reasonably high for a short time. To record tales, then, with something approaching completeness and correctness it is necessary that they should be set down within a very few days of their narration. In the case of the earlier tales in my collection, Noah Lock's, the majority of Gus Gray's, and a few of Eva's and Shanny's, I found it possible, firstly, to make notes, and, secondly, to write out the tales in rough from these, within the stipulated very few days. With the later tales, however, the best that I could do whilst my recollection of them was still reliable, was to make very detailed notes; notes which were on the average quite two-thirds as long as the tales themselves. In these notes I tried to do the following things, in particular:

- (1) To set down accurately and in their right order the main incidents of the tales.
- (2) To work in with these a good proportion of the wealth of detail with which the narrators embroidered their stories in most cases.
- (3) To reproduce *verbatim* all phrases that appeared to have been memorized, or to the wording of which the tale-tellers attached importance.
- (4) To report fully the drift of all monologues and dialogues put into the mouths of the characters, and as far as possible the actual words used whenever they seemed to be worth preserving. (3) and (4) overlap in some cases.
- (5) To record the subject-matter, and, when it could be recalled, the actual wording, of all striking descriptive passages.
- (6) To indicate the nature of all repetitions and summaries.
- (7) To note all formal beginnings and endings, all places where the narrators identified themselves with their stories, and all modernizations and topical allusions.

All these things I tried to do thoroughly, but it was only now and again that I jotted down peculiarities of idiom, and only on very rare occasions that I noticed mispronunciations. On the whole I think that these later detailed notes are just about as good, and as bad, as the earlier rough drafts, when considered as permanent records of the tales.

From these records the stories are now being written out for publication. There has been a delay of nearly a year in seriously starting this work, a delay not due to idleness or other avoidable cause, and a delay by reason of which the tales cannot well suffer except perhaps in one particular. Neither in the rough drafts (except those of Noah Lock's tales), nor in the detailed notes, have I really tried to give an impression of the Gypsy colloquial English spoken by the narrators, and now perhaps I may be even less successful in this direction than if I had got to work sooner. If I am the result will be lamentable, for I was never likely to meet with much success, as I have not seen any of the tale-tellers more than a very few times at most. Caution whispered: 'Do not attempt an almost impossible task. Occasional jottings, and very vague impressions—unreliable things impressions—are all the positive evidence that you have as to the colloquial English used by the Gypsies from whom you heard your tales.' But I turned a deaf ear: I would have none of this prudent but cowardly advice. 'I have little positive evidence, I know, but when that fails me I shall fall back on the negative evidence afforded by a fairly wide knowledge as to the colloquial English that no Gypsy ever speaks.' Subsequently I made a reservation that it was only the peculiarities of idiom that I would try to imitate, peculiarities of pronunciation being left to look after themselves. Surely no harm can be done by this attempt to make the tales as lifelike and natural as possible, even if it fails utterly. Mr. Winstedt has ably assisted me to record and write out the stories we heard from Noah Lock, and my wife is helping with those obtained at Grimsby and Cleethorpes.

In the printed tales no incidents will be omitted or glossed from the fear that they might be considered offensive, but three or four frankly indecent Drolls will not be published at all. An occasional very coarse expletive or other word will be softened down or eliminated in the stories from Taimi Boswell and Reuben Gray, and in one or two places a Romani word will be used instead of its vulgar English equivalent; but beyond this there

will be no tampering with the text of the tales. Those that are nameless will be given a title for convenience in reference; which titles, I am afraid, will lack the picturesqueness of such genuine tale-names as—'Sorrow and Love,' 'Daughter Greengown,' 'Mossy Coat,' and 'Fairest of all Others.'

By far the larger number of the long folk-tales that I have recorded are *Märchen*, the remainder being Drolls. In the *Märchen*, in addition to the usual array of helpful animals, transformed humans, witches and giants, God Himself appears on one occasion as a principal character; a very human God, who cannot eat His dinner without beer to it, and so straightway creates some, and some gingerbeer and lemonade for the children as well. In the Drolls the fools are usually Irishmen, of whom Taimi Boswell said—and in this paradox he summed up the opinion of the Grays: 'Dey 're de foolishest people on God's earth, an' dey 're de wisest.' The shorter folk-tales consist of Drolls and Lying Tales, some of which are very slight and others possibly not traditional. It appears that when some Gypsies gather together, Taimi Boswell's family and Abraham Lee's, for instance, they have a contest to see who can tell the biggest lie or lies—that is, the most impossible Lying Tale. These efforts of the imagination do not long survive the moment of their birth except in a very few cases; they do not as a rule become traditional. Possibly it would help them to survive if they were attached to Appy Boswell, and I am a little inclined to suspect (on quite insufficient evidence) that this process is going on to a slight extent. Amongst these shorter tales is one that is doubly interesting; firstly, because it is reminiscent of vampyrism, and secondly, because the narrator, Reuben Gray, makes himself the hero of it, though it is not intended to be a Lying Tale. Of Beast-tales, Apologues, and Cumulative Tales I have found no trace at all.

Traditional stories told as true, or intended to be believed in the first instance, are poorly represented in my collection. The only myths that I have heard are intended to explain the origin of The Seven Whistlers and The Lincoln Imp. Of local legends my best example is the well-known story of 'The Swaffham Tinker,' which is really a localized folk-tale. Other stories deal with the devil and his works, the fairies and their pranks, a hare that was a miner transformed, the punishment of swearing, a night spent in a haunted house, and so on. Strictly speaking some of these are not traditional stories at all, as the narrator was relating his own

(imagined) experiences, but all of those that I shall print are by way of becoming traditional. Then there are quite a large number of so-called true stories that are really only incidents illustrating Gypsy beliefs and superstitions concerning the devil, ghosts, fairies, 'cunning men,' witches and enchantments, but these I shall deal with separately at some future time.

The tales are being arranged for publication not according to the class to which they belong, but according to the source from which they were obtained. The first series—a very short one—will consist mainly of Noah Lock's tales, the second series mainly of those collected from the Grays, the third series mainly of those recounted by Taimi Boswell. Some of the very short Drolls that seem to be of little or no value will, for the present, be omitted, but in the matter of short Lying Tales I shall exercise no discretion. Each series will be preceded by an introduction, written from a collector's point of view only, but no notes, consisting of parallels and references and accompanying comments, will be found. It is easy for any one with the necessary patience to discover a certain number of parallels to folk-tales, and it is a mild form of excitement that I rather enjoy, but their proper annotation is work for an expert. Such experts are few in number, and probably given to despising Gypsy folk-lore (perhaps rightly), and for the life of me I dare not approach one at present. Is it too much to hope that some member of the Folk-lore Society who is thoroughly acquainted with the literature of folk-tales will come forward with an offer to annotate this collection of stories?

January 1916.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

During the Easter holidays of 1916 I paid a second visit to Oswaldtwistle, with the intention of collecting further tales from Taimi Boswell; but on reaching his old camping-place on Town Green I learned that he had unexpectedly left about a month previously, in a great hurry, and amidst considerable confusion. As to why he had gone, and where, no one was inclined to give any information; and so, although I might now be able to throw some light on these points, I shall do nothing of the kind. Johnny Smith 'an' them lot' had also been wintering at Oswaldtwistle, but they too had gone: not that there is any mystery about this, for with the first premature signs of spring they are always off on the road again.

With Taimi Boswell and the Smiths no longer there, my interest in the Oswaldtwistle camp (and their interest in me) was soon exhausted, and I went on to Blackburn, where, on some waste ground near Cherry Street, I found Oliver and Julia Lee. From Oliver I inquired if Abraham Lee, the tale-teller, happened to be in the neighbourhood, and my heart suddenly jumped from my boots into my mouth when I heard him reply that he had seen him the day before, and that he thought he and his brother Pat were at Church (which adjoins Oswaldtwistle). I took the very next car back, and alighting at the beginning of Church I searched everywhere for the Lees, but alas! there was no trace of them. The police were certain they were not there and had never been there, for there was no place where they could stop. Then a youth came along who had seen two wagons passing through during the morning going in the direction of Blackburn, and these I felt sure must be the Lees; so, as it was now quite dark, I decided to give up the search for the time being, and renew it in the morning. But I might, I thought, hear something at Town Green as to their probable whereabouts. I was not mistaken. I heard that they were in a picture theatre across the road, and that those two little wagons over in the corner behind the gateway belonged to them, two bow-topped wagons that I had noticed on going in, but forgotten about afterwards!

It was not until the following evening that I saw Pat and Abraham. Pat's hearty manner and wonderfully fluent *rokraben* are well known to those Romani Rais who forgather at Brough Hill, but Abraham will probably have escaped their notice, for he has the misfortune to be very deaf and painfully shy. And yet as a tale-teller (this is according to Pat) he rivals even Taimi Boswell, for 'he can go on hour after hour, an' mek you believe as it's all the truth, an' such a pack o' lies when you come to think of it too, but he does it all that nat'ral like as anybody might be tekken in; an' as for him acting of the parts he's as good as any professional on the stage. Not that I tek much interese' in such things myself, *rai*; gi'e me a true story like *Oliver Twist*: but he's wonderful good at it Abraham is. Only the trouble is he's such a shy fellow: now if he knows as you're about I'll back he won't come nigh, an' if he does he'll be off agen in a minute or two to look to his horses or summat. Now just you keep out o' sight, *rai*, an' I'll call him up. He's there, see?' It was as Pat had said: he was off again in a very few minutes

And so, when we had finished catechizing one another about certain less known Romani words, and exhausted a discussion on Good Friday superstitions (it was Maundy Thursday), I led off with a tale or two, and then demanded that Pat should keep things going by recounting some of his brother's stories, for I saw no immediate chance of getting them first-hand. Like the good fellow that he is, Pat willingly complied, though disavowing all pretensions to the tale-teller's art, and gave us condensed versions of 'The Black Dog of the Forest' and of a nightmare-like Droll. Gōni Robinson followed with a shorter Droll on more conventional lines, and then they must be off to the picture theatre again, as there was a change of programme on Thursdays. But on the morrow, they promised me, they would get Abraham to tell me one or two tales.

At this point I might as well end, for in the morning Pat and Abraham were 'off about a horse,' and although I went to the camp three times I failed to find them at home. And this was the last day I could spend at Oswaldtwistle.

December 1916.

FIRST SERIES

TALES COLLECTED FROM NOAH LOCK, TOGETHER
WITH ONE FROM JONATHAN AYRES, AND SOME
NEW APPY BOSWELL STORIES.

INTRODUCTION

Four Generations of Locks

INTO the first seedátion 'n we, so I've al'ays heeard it said, we was Boswells. My poor father's grandfather, Henry his name was, he was the first as ever went in the name o' Lock. It was through one 'n his people getting into some bother, I believe; leastways that's how the story goes, but whether it's the truth or not I couldn't rightly say. Somethink very bad it must ha' been, for it was in everybody's mouth. My great-grandfather kept hearing on it wherever he went, and people would ax him was he a delation of his, an' he seen it was bad for him having the same name, so he took the name o' Lock instead. One day the' was an owld gentleman what he was well intimated wið come to the place to have a bit o' crack wid him, an *his* name was Mr. Lock. An'

a'ter when he was gone my great-grandfather says: "That's the name as I shall go in—Lock"; an' he did, an' we been Locks ever since.' Thus spake Noah Lock in answer to our impertinent question as to when and how his family got their name. The tradition that the Locks were originally Boswells is fairly widespread, and very probably true, though the Locks are tall as a rule and the Boswells rather short; whilst Noah's reason for the change of name is, at any rate, a likely one.¹ The following, disinterred by Mr. Winstedt from Jackson's *Oxford Journal* for November 11, 1815, is of interest in this connexion. 'On the 24th ult. was

¹ The oldest evidence that attempts to account for this change of name is that of Esmeralda Lock's godfather, the Rev. S. B. James, who remembered the family as far back as Henry Lock and his wife, and probably derived his account from Matthew Lock. He states that Matthew was a Shropshire Boswell and cousin to his wife Memberensi, and that they also travelled Gloucestershire, where they found a friend and protector in a clergyman named Lock. That clergyman 'wished Matthew Boswell to take the name of Lock—probably, though this does not appear to be certain, with the idea of gradually weaning his nomad protégés from their wild and vagabond ways. No sooner had Matthew Boswell taken the name of Lock, than all that portion of the Boswell tribe became Locks, including, strange to say, even Matthew's father, the old patriarch of the family. Mr. Lock thereupon established a school for Gipsies,' which was attended by Matthew's daughter Plenty, and others; but they soon ran away. (*Church of England Magazine*, vol. 79 (1875), pp. 99 *et seq.*)

Mr. Winstedt, who has kindly supplied the above note, points out that as Matthew and Memberensi were dead some years before 1875, the latter being over ninety when she died, it is almost certain that they had children old enough to go to school in 1815, the earliest date we have at present for Lock as a Gypsy surname. He adds, however, that as the age of old Gypsies is nearly always overestimated, it is by no means certain that Memberensi attained to the age of ninety. Memberensi died when Esmeralda was a girl of about ten or twelve, that is *circa* 1868; so that if she were ninety at the time of her death, she would be about thirty-seven in 1815. This seems to be impossible, for her second son Buzzie died in 1908 at the reputed age of ninety, and as this would hardly be an overestimate he would not be born until 1818 at the earliest; and after Buzzie she had nine more children, of whom the sixth, Noah, did not marry until about 1850, and would thus hardly be born before 1825, while the youngest, Ezekiel, was alive in 1912, when his age was estimated at eighty. Plenty was the second to the youngest of this family, and would not, if the above facts are correct, be born until about 1830. This would date Mr. Lock's Gypsy school at from 1835 to 1840 at the earliest, quite twenty years after the first reference we have at present to Lock as a Gypsy surname, thus discrediting the Rev. S. B. James's account of how this name came to be adopted by a section of the Boswells.

Noah Lock's brother, Zachariah or Harry Boswell, has a different story of the origin of Lock as a Gypsy family name. He states that the name Lock was first conferred on old Henry Lock by a *gájo*, the lock of whose gate he broke, and through being known in the locality by that name he adopted it. Shandres Smith had a similar tale. According to him the Locks were first so called by way of a nickname, because of their propensity for breaking the locks of farmers' gates to *puv* their *grais*.

It must have been some time about the very beginning of the last century that some of the Bosses changed their name from Boswell 'owing to the bad reputation of the Boswells.' Boss as a Gypsy surname may already have been in existence at the time.

married at Chadworth, Gloucestershire, . . . Mr. George Payne, late of Terrington, to Unity, second daughter of Henry Locke, a gypsy. . . . It is not known exactly what fortune the lady has; but the father offers five hundred guineas with each of his two unmarried daughters, provided they marry men of good character and householders.' This is the earliest reference at present known to Lock as a Gypsy surname.

According to Noah and his sister Esmeralda, on whose information, correct or incorrect, complete or incomplete,¹ this skeleton history of their branch of the Lock family is based, old Henry Lock used to travel a roughly triangular tract of country of which the corners were London, Devonshire, and Gloucestershire. His visits to London were never at any time frequent, Devonshire being his favourite haunt in his young days, and Gloucestershire when he grew older. In addition to the daughters already mentioned, of whom my informants knew nothing except that one married a rich Gloucestershire farmer, Henry Lock had (probably) four sons. Two of these, whose names were given by Noah as Lamrok and Röli, migrated to America at an early age, and have left no descendants on the English roads. A third, Mairik, had several children, who were all daughters except Lucas: he and his offspring, who married 'mumpers' for the most part, travelled Gloucestershire and neighbourhood, and there this branch of the family may still be found. According to Morwood,² both Mairik and his wife were buried at Hillsley in Gloucestershire. The fourth son was Matthew.

Matthew Lock, who was a very big man, married Memberensi Boswell (his cousin, according to S. B. James³), a diminutively small woman, who belonged to a family of Boswells that is said to have wintered round London and spent the summer months chiefly in Staffordshire. He and his wife travelled Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, South Staffordshire and Shropshire, and made occasional excursions over the border into Wales, never penetrating very far, however. They had at least eleven children.

¹ I am satisfied that this information is substantially accurate and very nearly complete, but beyond that I am not prepared to go. From Esmeralda I took down in a single sitting of an hour and a quarter a Lock pedigree containing 242 names. The greater part of it has already been tested, and no discrepancies have been found up to the present, except with regard to the children of Henry Lock.

² *Our Gipsies* (London, 1885), p. 166. It is doubtful whether Mairik was a brother of Matthew Lock: he may have been a half-brother, or he may have been a brother of Matthew's father, Henry.

³ See note 1, page 178.

1. Hezekiah, mar. Caroline Boswell (1 ch.); and Caroline Pretty or Priddy, otherwise *Pogi Bul*, a 'mumper' (no issue).
2. Buzzie, mar. Caroline Florence (no issue); and Caroline Ryall or Ryals¹ (Ryle or Ryles), a 'mumper' (8 ch.)
3. Margery, mar. Lucas Lee (no issue); and Elijah Smith, a *gájo* (8 ch.).
4. Lucy, mar. Edward Taylor, otherwise 'Bill the Barber,' 'Longsnout,' 'Credit,' a travelling barber and a *gájo*² (13 ch.).
5. Matthew, died unm.
6. Noah, mar. Dilaia Jones (14 ch.).
7. George, died unm.
8. Isaiah, died unm.
9. William, died unm.
10. Plenty, mar. Harry Organ, a half-breed (9 ch.).
11. Ezekiel, mar. Amy Taylor, his niece (7 ch.).

Buzzie travelled Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire, for the most part, and here his descendants still abound: he himself died at Aston Ingham in Herefordshire in 1908, at the reputed age of 90. Margery and Elijah spent most of their time in Staffordshire, in which county they lie buried, at the village of Croxton. 'Longsnout's Breed' drifted northwards into Cheshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire—the Taylor country at the present day; Lucy and her husband, as well as two daughters, Margery and Charity, who died early in life, being buried at Connah's Quay, in Flintshire, just over the Cheshire border. Noah and his progeny eventually made their way into the furthestmost extremes of North Wales, a migration that will be described in more detail later. The Organs occupied South Wales, and to some extent the South-Western Peninsula of England, the country still frequented by their children and grandchildren. Ezekiel struck out for the heart of mid-Wales, and unless he has died within the last two or

¹ Shandres Smith always maintained that the Ryals or Ryles were really Herons, the descendants of one Ryall or Royal Heron, from whom he said they took their name. Is there any truth at all in this tradition?

² For a description of the way in which Lucy Lock became the wife of Edward Taylor, see *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 30-1, where 'Bill the Barber' is called 'Willy the Tinkler,' also 'Credit.' I hope on some future occasion to give a list of the real names of the Gypsies mentioned in this book. For the present I will only add that the Abigail Herne whose old age and death are described on pp. 23-4 is Memberensi, and the Gilderoy Lovell who has dealing with 'cunning men' is Ezekiel.

three years he is still there, probably in Cardiganshire, with his pack-donkeys and tents.

From Noah originated what is now the biggest branch on the family tree, and the branch to which my informants belong. It has been stated already that he married Dilaia Jones, who was travelling about Shropshire and Montgomery when he made her acquaintance: their marriage took place at Newport in the former county. Her father was called James Jones, but as to his family I am ignorant. Between Dilaia's marriage and his adoption of a sedentary life as tinker, china-mender, and gunsmith in Newport (Salop), he paid a long visit to the Forest of Dean, the principal haunt of the Johns family, with which he may possibly have been connected. The Johns are what any well-bred Gypsy would describe as 'mumpers,' and the presumption is that James Jones was the same. But Dilaia is said to have spoken not only good but 'deep' Romani, deeper than she was likely to learn after her marriage if she had been brought up to 'cant.' This she could not possibly have derived from her mother, for whom no Gypsy blood is claimed: according to Esmeralda she was called Mary Singleton, and was an Irishwoman, but Noah thought that she was 'one 'n the Joshoos,' a family of 'hedge-crawlers.' Was James Jones then a respectably good Gypsy? 'Jones I know for a real Gypsy surname,' wrote Groome,¹ and the probability is that he was thinking of Dilaia's family. And was not Easter Joanes one of the leaders of the large gang of Gypsies who visited Hertford in 1703, a gang of which the other leaders were Thomas Ingroom, Margaret his wife, and Susan Wood.² But enough; Dilaia's Romani may not have been so 'deep' as her children believe. Groome may have been thinking of 'one Jones, a Cambridge knife-grinder,' a returned 'lag,'³ who was, I am told, really Isaac or Aggi Boss or Boswell, son of the famous Riley. And even if Easter Joanes was a good Gypsy, it does not follow that James Jones was. One thing, however, is certain, which is that Dilaia was as good a Gypsy as Noah in looks, for she was dark and sallow, whereas he had a fresh complexion and reddish whiskers, though his hair was very black. Red or sandy hair is a characteristic of several of their children, of whom they had a basketful, or, to be exact, fourteen.

¹ *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. xlv. footnote.

² *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. iv. p. 305.

³ *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 42. Mr. Hall is my authority for the statement made in the latter part of this sentence.

- (1) Noah, mar. Annabella Williams, *gáji* (no issue), and Ann Elizabeth Thomas, *gáji* (6 ch.).
- (2) Zebulun, now known as Jim, mar. Ann Moulston or Moulton, pot-hawker (9 ch.).
- (3) Esmeralda, mar. Hubert Smith, gentleman (no issue), and Francis Hindes Groome, gentleman (no issue).
- (4) Zachariah, now known as Harry Boswell, mar. Maria or Loli Wood (1 ch.).
- (5) Thomas, died unm.
- (6) Somerset, now known as Joe, mar. Maria Jones, 'mumper' (9 ch.).
- (7) Herbert, died unm.
- (8) Rabi, mar. Sūbi or Sophia Lee (6 ch.).
- (9) Ada, mar. William Lee (4 ch.).
- (10) John, mar. Emily Usencroft, *gáji* (1 ch.), and Eliza Pritchard, *gáji* (9 ch.).
- (11) Dūvelkanesto,¹ Dūvel or Dōvel, mar. Nation Boswell (5 ch.).
- (12) Bivanfordelme¹ or Vivian, now known as Charlie, mar. Polly Guildford, *gáji* (7 ch.). Has a second wife.
- (13) Finiman ('The Dummy'), mar. Limi Taylor (2 or 3 ch.).
- (14) Aramīna Dorīlia, or Dora, mar. Will Cordery, *gájo* (? issue), and Merryfield Taylor (? no issue).

During the early years of their married life Noah and Dilaia travelled the English Border Counties from Gloucestershire up to Shropshire, and the Welsh counties of Radnor and Montgomery. As time wore on they showed a decided preference for Shropshire, in which county they buried their young sons, Thomas at Cheswardine, and Herbert at Llanfair Waterdine.² They too would probably have ended their days here if it had not been for the restlessness of their elder sons, Noah and Harry in particular. As

¹ These two extraordinary names, Dūvelkanesto and Bivanfordelme, are said to be inventions of Hubert Smith's, who insisted on Noah and Dilaia christening their children by them. They have never been regarded by the Locks as real Romany names.

² The Locks were camping at Offa's Dyke when Herbert died of consumption. Both of the death-bed scenes in Groome, one in the closing chapter of *Kriegspiel* (London, 1896), the other in his article on the Gypsies contributed to *National Life and Thought* (London, 1891), are based on what happened on this occasion. It was Zachariah (Harry) who played the Scotch tunes of which Herbert was so fond, and the deaf and dumb boy Anselo is of course Finiman. A wire tent was put up by the Locks over Herbert's grave, and later Hubert Smith had a stone erected on which a fiddle was engraved and some verses of his own composition. Dilaia took a strong dislike to the engraving on the stone, and attempted to obliterate it by blacking it over thickly with tar.

young unmarried men these sons wandered far afield (quite apart from their camping tours with Hubert Smith and a Mr. Jaye in Norway and South Wales), penetrating into parts of England where Lock was unknown as a Gypsy name (Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, for instance), and making their way throughout the length and breadth of Wales. Two of them, of whom Noah as the eldest was always one, would go off for weeks together, earning a living by playing the fiddle at feasts, and at public and private houses, lodging in small inns, or, in cases of dire necessity, in 'cocoa rooms.' Nor were these the only excursions they made, for sometimes their father would take one of them with him, and, bed on back, go off to Welsh horse fairs miles outside his regular 'beat.' Back at home again, they would make baskets, fish, fiddle, and trade in anything from a broken-down horse to a worthless ferret, chiefly by means of unending advantageous exchanges. For variety some of them tried manual labour. Noah, for instance, worked at the docks in Bristol for a few weeks, and for two or three months he was coachman, groom, and general outdoor man to a gentleman near Newport (Salop). To this latter job he might even have taken kindly, had not his master been so perverse as to complain continually that he was milking the cows from the wrong side, no matter on which side he placed his stool. Jim, and subsequently Joe, did settle as coachmen in this same neighbourhood.

Both Noah and Harry found North Wales more and more attractive, and they tried to persuade their father and mother to quit Shropshire and the country round about, and go with them there; but in vain. On one of their 'runs' Harry fell in love with Maria or Loli Wood, and married her with that promptitude which Gypsies show in such matters. Henceforth England saw him no more, except to fit himself with the travelling equipment necessary for his new state of life. He carried off his younger brother Joe with him. At Cemmaes Road, near Machynlleth, they met with opposition from the Gypsies already in possession, and were invited by Oliver Lee and Seth Lovell to fight or quit the country for ever. A violent and exciting contest, in which Harry did two men's work, ended in a victory for the newcomers, and after that no one ever again challenged the right of the Locks to travel North Wales. Noah soon took himself a wife from among the Welsh *gâjé*; and he too decided that North Wales was a better land to travel than the Border Counties. One by one the rest of the

family followed them—John, Rabi, Ada (Jim was already settled, Joe proved a backslider, and Esmeralda was with Groome in Edinburgh), until only the old folks and their younger children were left in Shropshire. At last they too were persuaded to quit England for Anglesey, of which Noah and Harry and the rest might almost be said to have taken possession. The Island was sufficiently like his beloved Border Country to satisfy the elder Noah, but he could not acquire the Welsh language as his sons did, and was handicapped in his dealings by lack of knowledge of it. On the whole, however, he was quite contented, and spent the rest of his days there. He was buried at Llanddaniel, near Llanfair P. G., and when Dilaia died some years later, in 1910, she was laid to rest beside him. The same tiny village contains the grave of Harry's only child, Merenda (and also of old Henry Lee), whilst but a few miles away, at Llandegfan, Rabi died of consumption.

Since Merenda's death, many years back now, Harry has practically never left Anglesey, and Rabi's widow, Sübi, has attached herself to him. Noah keeps them company, for he too rarely crosses Menai Bridge. 'The Dummy,' after following the bicycle and photographic trades in Holyhead, is on the roads again, but can be found in the Island during most months in the year. Here John and Charlie usually come to winter after a summer spent travelling round the counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, Denbigh, and Flint; whilst at least once every summer Ada and her husband have a 'run' from Bangor as far as Holyhead and back. The rest, Dora, Dövel, and Esmeralda, are only occasional visitors to Anglesey, though they spend quite half their time in North Wales. Dora and Dövel have lately been travelling a good deal in South Lancashire and Cheshire as well as in North Wales; Esmeralda has for some time back favoured the country between Chester and Colwyn Bay. Dövel shows most enterprise now: I have seen him as far north as Kendal, and heard of him since working down towards Bristol. I wonder what new country the next generation, now marrying with almost indecent haste, will seek out and possess!

• *Noah Lock as a Tale-teller*

Noah Lock is sixty-three years of age, tall, loosely-knit, rather fair with a touch of red. Normally he is placid in manner, slow of speech, kindly, polite, and obliging; when angered (by an inter-

fering policeman, for instance) he is at first argumentative—coolly, cleverly, pertinaciously, provokingly argumentative—and then, if this is not sufficient, he uses his fists. He has a rare knowledge of human nature and the ‘affairs of Egypt,’ which enables him to make money without exerting himself. He is not devoid of imagination, but he is not so wildly imaginative as many Gypsies. He would probably believe you if you told him that you had just seen the devil, or a ghost, or a fairy, or a witch, but for a Gypsy he is not abnormally superstitious. You would not expect him to recount folk-tales, for you would hardly think that they would interest him sufficiently; and as a matter of fact his enthusiasm for them is not very great now. He has heard Matthew Wood and the Prices tell tales of recent years, but cannot remember any of them at all. ‘I didn’t take no pertic’lar note ’n they,’ he explains. He has noticed, notwithstanding, that ‘the Prices’ tales is more broad-like nor what Mathoo’s is, an’ more laughable-like for them as cares for sich things.’ •

At one period of his life, however—that early roatning period when he was in the twenties and still unmarried—he was keenly interested in tales, or ‘skits,’ as he calls them, and whenever he heard a new one he would try to learn it, and would then relate it again when in the company of those who appreciated story-telling. It was not from his father or mother, nor from his grandfathers or grandmothers, nor from his uncles or aunts that he derived his stories, though we understood him to say that his father and mother both knew plenty (he was not very explicit on this point); it was from other Gypsies, of whom he mentioned Vernon Taylor and Mōti Heron in particular. Vernon Taylor was his cousin, the eldest son of his aunt Lucy and ‘Bill the Barber,’ and brother of Phœnix, Amy (mar. Ezekiel Lock), Ernest, Gad, Margery, ‘Richard Rai’ or ‘Rai,’ ‘Bunch of May’ or ‘May’ (man), Charity, Mary Ann (mar. Buzzie Smith), Solomon, Isaac, and Ben. He married Kōdi Jones, Noah’s mother’s sister, by whom he had nine children—Louisa, Charlotte, Jane, Vernon, Ernest, Dinki, Lucy, Caroline, and Rōdi. ‘Varnon had a won’erful lot o’ tales, but then you see, friend, he mixed up wid all classes, high an’ low.’ Thus Noah, and his explanation is not without some importance. No. 4, ‘Strong Jack,’ was one of Vernon’s tales; Noah first heard it from him. Mōti Heron (Hn. E. 6)¹ was not akin

¹ This and other Heron identification marks refer to the Rev. George Hall’s Heron pedigree.—*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. vii., facing p. 81.

to the Locks either by blood or by marriage; his descent will be given later. From him Noah learned three or four tales, all of which he has now forgotten. Of one he recollected a mere fragment, which may be summarized as follows:

Small boy who could do all manner of things other people could not. Well or spring from which he alone could get water. There he met witch who said he was to undertake anything he was asked to do; if he could not do any job himself she would come to his aid.

For more than thirty years now Noah has been forgetting tales, and that he should still remember six is very creditable.

It cannot be said that his stories are of exceptional merit, but at the same time they are not to be despised. No. 6, 'Clever Pat' (I have had to supply names to this and all the other tales), was, he said, incomplete. In No. 5, 'Jack and the Beanstalk,' he was uncertain whether it was an old man or an old woman who chased Jack down the beanstalk, but eventually decided to 'make it' an old woman; and the opening incident looks as if it belonged to some other story. About the 'Recovery of the Keys' incident in No. 3, 'King Herring,' Mr. Winstedt and I could not agree afterwards; but this was probably our fault and not Noah's. No. 1, 'The Robber and the Housekeeper,' No. 2, 'The Two Swans,' and No. 4, 'Strong Jack,' he told confidently, as if he were quite certain of the details. Compared with Gus Gray's and Eva Gray's and Taimi Boswell's tales, these six of Noah's seem rather poor. The incidents are not so striking, the supernatural element is not so strong (there isn't an ogre or a witch in the whole bunch), the serious and the comic (as distinguished from the humorous) are more mixed up, there are fewer memorized phrases, and there is much less picturesque but lifelike detail. The conversations, however, are on the whole quite good, and much the best part of the tales. Noah lived the stories as he was telling them, in his own placid way; for the time being they were real to him, but he had not the power to make them real to us. His slow, rather laborious, speech handicapped him.

There are three questions that have kept on recurring to me ever since we left Wales, to reproach me, it would appear, for opportunities missed in the days before I chanced upon folk-tales. Firstly, is Noah's brother Harry a teller of tales? Harry has all the essential qualities of a good raconteur, and he was nearly always with Noah during those early wandering days. Secondly,

what of John Lock and his progeny? 'My uncle Johnny's lot's the ones for laughable tales; from the biggest to the littlest they can all tell 'em,' said Noah's Omai. Perhaps, however, she did not mean Drolls, but riddles, for she had been asking us these immediately before. Later that same evening, our last at Rhos-neigr, her cousin Joe, Rabi's son, pulled on to the common, and his children and Noah's smaller ones, after romping until they were tired, sat down round one of the fires to 'tell tales,' as they said; and their tales, at any rate, were riddles.¹ But riddles and tales seem to go together: witness Dr. Sampson's Grays, and my Grays, and Matthew Wood, and Noah Lock. Thirdly, has the mantle of Vernon Taylor fallen on any of 'Longsnout's Breed'?

One more point, and then I have finished with the Locks. Jonathan Ayres once ended up a rather unsuccessful attempt to

¹ A considerable proportion of Lock riddles are practically the same as some of those collected by Dr. Sampson from Matthew Wood (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. v. pp. 241-255). Out of twenty-two that we recorded, ten are almost identical with Dr. Sampson's Nos. 12, 15, 19, 24, 27, 31, 35, 39, 44, and 48, the last a very unusual one. Of the remainder the following are the best:—

1. Q. As I was going over London Bridge I met a man with twenty sick (six) sheep. He lost one. How many had he left?
A. nineteen.
2. Q. A little brown house, all white inside, and with a pool of water in the middle of it.
A. A cocoa-nut.
3. Q. Two lily handés,
Four stiff standers,
Four dilly dangles,
And two peepers.
A. A woman milking a cow.
4. Q. It's a hedger and a ditcher,
It's a digger and a slayner (*sic*),
An' it's got two leather brown horns.
A. A hare.
5. Q. The first two lines of No. 4.
A. A rat.
6. Q. A stick, a stone and a feather,
Thrown into the river together;
The stone sunk,
The feather swum.
What was the name of the tother?
A. A stick.
7. Q. As white as snow and yet not snow;
As red as blood and yet not blood;
As black as ink and yet not ink.
A. A blackberry.
8. Q. What is there that a rich man puts in his pocket, which a poor man throws away?
A. Snot.
9. Q. No man wants it, but once a man has got it he would not lose it not for worlds.
A. A bald head.

recount 'The Seven Mysteries of the Luck' to Mr. Myers and Mr. James in the following manner:—

'Old Buzzie Lock tred on a piece of tin,
It bended,
An' my story 's ended.'

Why Buzzie Lock ?

The Welsh Herons and Jónathan Ayres

The migrations of the Locks, which I have just described, are not in any way exceptional, for during the last hundred years or so there has been a steady flow of English Gypsies northwards, and, to a lesser extent, westwards, a current that has as yet produced no appreciable counter-current. The main Heron family, the descendants of Francis Heron, have shared in this movement. True there were Herons in Yorkshire one hundred years ago, just as there are to-day, but then they swarmed (as far as good Gypsies ever did swarm) on the commons and in the country lanes of Norfolk and Lincolnshire, where now you would search for them in vain. You might still meet them travelling down the Great North Road as far as Newark, and thence on to Nottingham, but there they would turn their faces north again. You would be more likely to encounter them in the far north-east, perhaps making for, or returning from, Scotland. What was once the ancient kingdom of Northumbria is the country most frequented by the Herons of the present day.

But this family has also spread into Wales. The original immigrants were two cousins: (1) Elfer or Alfred (Hn. D. 2), son of Solivaino, son of 'Owld Dick,' and of Wesson Heron, Solivaino's cousin; (2) Edmund (Hn. D. 18), son of Niabai or Edward, son of 'Owld Dick,' and of a Buckland known as Siberensi, Greenleaf or Kidney. Edmund quitted England, so it said, because of some new law restricting the movements of 'campers and trampers'; he heard that he would be less molested in Wales, and found that this was true. In the case of Elfer, who reached Wales some years before Edmund, the reason for his change of country was most probably either his father's transportation or his own imprisonment, or both. Elfer and his wife, Rebecca Buteridge, a 'mumper' from the Eastern Counties, travelled in North Wales for the most part, but their descendants have moved south. Edmund and his two wives, Jemima and Anis Smith, preferred South Wales, and there their children and grandchildren

still travel. This latter family know no tales: 'I never sensed a tale from them,' writes Mr. Myers, and he knows them intimately. Fēli or Stephen Heron (Hn. E. 32), Edmund's only child by Anis Smith, must, however, be excepted, for he has more than once promised to relate to Mr. Myers 'The Green Leaves of the Forest'—promised only to disappoint. Fēli, by the way, is married to a Price—Ruth, daughter of Chēsi, son of 'Fighting Fred,' so 'The Green Leaves of the Forest' may possibly be a Price tale. But Elfer Heron was a good tale-teller, and so too was his son Mōti or Moses, the same Mōti Heron from whom Noah Lock picked up tales in his younger days. Mōti's daughter Didi or Sophia (Hn. F. 10) married Jonathan Ayres, from whom my No. 8, 'The Seven Mysteries of the Luck,' was collected.

Jonathan or Jack Ayres or Burton is a son of Steve Connaught Ayres and Ela Burton, daughter of Harriet Burton who with more of her family first came up into South Wales from Somerset. He and Didi are house-dwellers, though very occasionally they take to the roads for a while: they change their place of residence very frequently, but are nearly always somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cardiff. Jonathan has followed many occupations—horse-dealing, peg-making, rabbit-catching, navvying, quarrying, road-mending, lime-burning, coal-hauling, malthouse-labouring, milk-selling, and farm-work of various kinds, but nothing for very long. For a half-breed Burton he is well informed in matters Romany, thanks to his grandmother, Harriet Burton. It was not from Harriet, however, but from his wife's grandfather, Elfer Heron, that he derived his tales.

As a raconteur Jonathan appears to have something of a reputation, for of him one of the Prices remarked: 'He can go on for hours an' hours, an' make you think it's all the truth.'¹ Yet when he first related 'The Seven Mysteries of the Luck' to Mr. Myers and Mr. James in 1911, they could not follow the thread of the story at all. The occasion, perhaps, was an unsuitable one, for the same tale as recorded by Mr. James in 1915, and as printed below, is intelligible and coherent enough, though as it only contains four 'Mysteries' it is either incomplete or wrongly named. In a short outline of the story sent me by Mr. James at an earlier date an extra incident is given: 'And also there is a stick found under a stone which rises itself; and the stick placed under the arm

¹ A stock remark this that is made about most Gypsy tale-tellers, but a true one as far as my experience goes.

turns to a gun.' Again, 'Jonathan has a notion about "The Hen that laid the Magic Egg,"' Mr. James writes on another occasion, but perhaps this is a different tale altogether. The closing incident of 'The Seven Mysteries' is obviously a late addition, introduced for the sake of the joke: 'Send us a line.' 'It will be a mystery if you want a line where you are going to.' Of this joke Jonathan was immensely proud; in fact, he regarded it as the best part of the whole story. 'I give the tale as I heard it, that is as near as I can,' says Mr. James. 'Jonathan has two more, one of which would fill a book, but I would rather some one else had the job of putting them down.' Who will do it? And who will undertake to inquire further for tales amongst Elfer Heron's descendants, a list of whom will be found in the Rev. George Hall's Heron pedigree?

From Jonathan, on the occasion of a visit to Leckwith Common in 1911, Mr. Myers and Mr. James heard a version of the ballad printed by Groome on pp. 141-2 of his *In Gipsy Tents*, also the following, which I have their kind permission to use. It is said to be four centuries old, and is known by Rachel Heron (Hn. F. 8), Mōti's daughter, as well as by Jonathan:—

SWEET DRAGON.¹

Sweet Dragon he was riding out,
Since the night was dark and stormy,
Some lady know'd him all by his horse,
'Sweet Dragon are you ready?'

She caught hold of his bridle-rein,
And led him to the stable.
'Here's hay and corn for your horse, my dear,
Let him eat it while he's able.'

She caught hold of his lily-white hand,
And led him to the table.
'Here's cake and wine for you, my dear,
Let you eat it while you're able.'

She ran upstairs to make the bed,
To make it soft and easy.
She quick picked up those lily-white sheets,
'Sweet Dragon are you ready?'

¹ Mr. Winstedt kindly sends the following note on this ballad:—'Dragon'= 'Dragoon.' This is a rather poor version of the 'Trooper and Maid' ballad, of which three versions, all from Scotland, are given in F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, pt. ix. pp. 172-4. Child mentions a similar ballad called 'The Dragoon and Peggy' in Maidment's *Scottish Ballads* (1859), p. 98. 'Sweet' is probably due to confusion with 'Sweet Willie' or 'Sweet William,' who occurs in several ballads in Child's collection, e.g. 'Sweet William's Ghost,' pt. iii. p. 226, also dealing with a nocturnal visit of a lover to his lady.

'Oh ! when will you turn this way again ?
 Oh ! when shall we get married ?'
 'When nuts and shells grows to silver bells,
 Bonnie lassie, we'll get married.'

The Prices.

The quest for unrecorded Heron tales in South Wales would almost certainly bring the collector into contact with the Prices, who know a score or two or three of stories. These Prices are the descendants of Ellen or Helen Ingram and Henry or Hendry Price, a shoemaker of either Wellington in Shropshire or Newtown in Montgomery, or both : in Dr. Sampson's pedigree it is Wellington, in Mr. Myers' it is Newtown. These two pedigrees, together with a third, Mr. William Eggleston's, have been kindly lent to me by the Rev. George Hall, and in making some use of them here I am not troubled much by conscience, for they are so contradictory as to be of little permanent value, though they are of great interest. All three, however, agree in giving Fred ('Fighting Fred'), Bob, Dick, and Amos as the four sons of Henry and Ellen, and in not giving the Nebuchadnēzar from whom the tale-telling Cornelius, according to his own statement to Dr. Sampson, derived his stories, though Nebuchadnēzar (or its variants Nebuchudnezar and Nebuchudnēmus) occurs as a Price forename in the next generation, in two pedigrees once, in the other twice. There is also in two pedigrees a very doubtful daughter, named Sēni or Sini, who married an equally doubtful Lock, named Bill or Bob. The sons' marriages appear as follows :—

Fred, mar. Ellen or Helen Taylor, daughter of Phœnix Taylor, a brother of the Vernon who narrated folk-tales.

Bob, mar. Mary Beddesford and another *gāji* (Dr. Sampson);
 mar. Mary Braddock, a Shropshire woman (Mr. Myers);
 mar. Mary Beddoes, a Breckon *gāji* (Mr. Eggleston).

Dick, mar. a Welsh *gāji* from Carmarthen.

Amos, mar. an Irishwoman (Dr. Sampson); mar. an Irishwoman, named Mary Ann Daly (Mr. Myers); mar. an Irishwoman from Shrewsbury (Mr. Eggleston).

It was from this Amos Price that Philip Murray learned most of his Romany lore, and it was this Amos who was the father of Cornelius.¹

As recently as May last Mr. Myers heard that Cornelius Price,

¹ Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. lvii.

the narrator of folk-tales, was still alive; his informant was Amos or Shushi Price, cousin to Cornelius (? or is it brother); and, although there is another and younger Cornelius who, like the raconteur, married a Lucy or Lucina Price, there was no doubt as to the identity, for both father and mother were given correctly. Incidentally, Shushi stated that Cornelius derived his tales from his mother, Mary Ann Daly. Presumably, then, that youngest brother of Cornelius, who 'knows thirty to fifty very long tales,' is still living, but as to his name it remains to be discovered. The chances at present are heavily in favour of Dick, for Mr. Myers gives the names of the children of Amos Price and Mary Ann Daly as Cornelius, Charlie, Amos, Billy, and Dick; and Mr. Eggleston as Cornelius, Ellen (mar. Noah Florence), Nebuchudnezar, Charlie, Harry, Emily (mar. Bill Jones), and Dick. Other Prices, too, appear to know tales. Here is a note from Mr. Myers: 'On Oct. 7th this year [1914] I visited the widow [Jane] and descendants [Sampson, Gabriel, Arthur, another boy and two girls] of Sampson Price, son of "Fighting Fred." I tried hard for tales, but it was no good. They knew plenty, and had a brother who knew dozens, but tell them they wouldn't. They had heard one like my busker's yarn, only "there was cutting off of heads into baskets." They told me that the Prices had always been great tale-tellers, and that their father was a wonderful man for them.' In August, 1915, Mr. James writes: 'The other day I met old "Muttering Jenny" Price, *née* Wharnell [? Jane Hollow, Sampson Price's widow, for no other Jane occurs in the three pedigrees, and the only female Wharnell is Charlotte, wife of Billy Price, Sampson's brother]. She had her two boys, Gabriel and Billy, with her. I asked them if they knew any tales, and they said they knew some, but took no delight in them.' The names of the brothers (there are no sisters) of Sampson and Billy Price, sons of 'Fighting Fred' and Ellen Taylor, occur in all three pedigrees, and I will give them, as they may be of use to my hypothetical collector: (1) Goláia or Gelaias; (2) Hope or Ōp; (3) Chēsi or Josiah or Chasaia or Jīsaia; (4) Kradok; (5) Starini or Starinin, possibly a woman, died in U.S.A.; (6) ? Fred. As to the children of Dick and Bob Price the pedigrees either give no information at all, or are hopelessly contradictory.

It is going to be no easy matter to obtain Price tales, but this must not be allowed to act as a deterrent, more especially as success should yield a very rich harvest. Inquiry into the derivation

of the tales, when they are obtained, might bring some interesting information to light. It would be important to know whether any or all could be traced back to Ellen Ingram, or to Ellen Taylor, or that very doubtful Lock, if ever he existed; or, again, to Henry Price or one or other of his *gdjé* daughters-in-law; or whether any or all were imported into the family from some outside source or sources within recent years.

The Johns, and the Welsh and West-Country Lovells

Of the Johns as tale-tellers we have heard nothing since Campbell's day; in fact, nothing much has been heard of the family at all. Campbell met William and Solomon in London, but if you wanted to find a Johns now it would be advisable to go to the Forest of Dean. In August 1913 Mr. Winstedt and Mr. F. S. Atkinson met on Lydiard Plain, near Swindon, Mark Johns, of Bream in the Forest of Dean, and Edmund Lovell going to Kent to pick fruit, and a few days later they found Mark's brother, David, near Cinderford in this same 'Forest,' and heard of many settled Lovells, with whom the Johns seemed to be intimate, all round about Coleford. David had spent most of his life in the Forest of Dean, he said, but had made fruit-picking excursions into the South of England. He knew Oxfordshire—his mother being a Loveridge (? Drusilla) of Wheatley, Oxon.—but he had not been there for many years. A tale identical with the story of Appy Boswell's dog was told by the Johns about Aaron Bland of Headington, near Oxford. Neither Mark nor David claimed to be a Gypsy; in fact, they denied that they were Gypsies. This is all the certain information that I can give about the Johns, and I owe it entirely to Mr. Winstedt. It is possible, however, that certain Joneses who appear in old records of police-court proceedings, and other documentary sources of information about Gypsies, may be members of the same family. There is a James Jones *alias* Rose, for instance, who was arrested for theft at Beckley, in Oxfordshire, in 1792, whose companions in misfortune were Henry Lovell, and Priscilla Loveridge, and Mary Loveridge *alias* Hornsby.¹ And there is a William Jones sentenced at the Worcester Midsummer Assizes in 1791 to be transported for stealing a gold ring, the same sentence being passed at

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 9 and March 12, 1792. I am indebted to Mr. Winstedt.

the same time and place on William Boswell and Charles Scamp¹ for stealing five rolls of ribbon. In this connexion note that a sister of Mark and David Johns married Mēzaiah Boswell, son of Tom Boswell, of a family who call themselves Oxfordshire in origin, though they are now in the Forest of Dean; and that the Scamps are a Kentish family, part of whom migrated to Wales roughly about eighty to one hundred years ago, or even earlier perhaps. Then, again, there is the Solomon Jones, basket-maker and wire-worker of Battlebridge, given by Hoyland (1816)² in his list of London Gypsies, which consists largely of Lovells, who might conceivably be Campbell's Solomon Johns. And there are lots more Joneses who might be Johns, but I have given enough. The Johns, then, would appear to be a 'roadster' family, who, like the Loveridges, have associated, and, to a certain extent, intermarried with Gypsies, and who have migrated, either in whole or in part—more probably the latter—from London side and the Thames Valley to the Forest of Dean. At present there is no evidence, either direct or circumstantial, to prove their connexion with the Joneses of Montgomery and Shropshire, or with various Joneses to be found south of London. Their association with Lovells may possibly date back to the end of the eighteenth century or earlier.

In Wales and the Welsh Borders there are two main Lovell families. In North Wales, more especially in Carnarvon, are the descendants of Nathaniel Lovell and his two wives, sisters named Saifi and Sally Scamp, the latter of whom was still alive, and occupying a house, or rather one room of it, in Carnarvon, a year or two ago. Saifi and Sally, Mr. Hall informs me, were daughters of Riley Scamp, better known as Riley 'Eat the Cat,' and of Vansi Lee, sister of Elijah and Sampson Lee, the progenitors of most of the Welsh Lees of the present day. This Lovell family includes Mōti, Jack, Seth, Adolphus, Uriah, Edwin, Robert, and Noah, and their families (as well as Eldorai who emigrated, and Lily and Israel who died unmarried), so it is a moderately large one. From what I have seen of these Lovells I should not suspect any of them of knowing tales, but of course they may do so. In South Wales and the Western Counties of England are the descendants of Slack

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 13, 1791. Again I am indebted to Mr. Winstedt.

² *A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits, and Present State of the Gypsies* (York, 1816), p. 185.

Lovell, a rather bigger family, in spite of the fact that it has been much thinned by emigration to America. Slack's children, according to a pedigree collected by Mr. Myers, and kindly placed by him at my disposal, included—(1) Major, mar. Ann Twig, *gáji*; (2) Ladin, mar. Phœbe Ford, *gáji*; (3) William, mar. Pen Lovell; (4) Tom, mar. a *gáji*; (5) Frederick, mar. Carnation Lovell; (6) Harriet, mar. Jerry Burton (? is this Harriet the grandmother of Jonathan Ayres); (7) Charlotte, mar. Lamërok (? Lock); (8) Trënit, mar. Adolphus Lovell. Major had two sons, George and Arty, who married Isabella and Susanna, sisters of Mary Ann Smith, mother of my late friend Shandres; and George and Isabella had two sons, Cornelius and William, who married Shandres's sisters Deloraifi and Eldorai. These Lovells then were quite well known to Shandres, and according to him they used originally to travel the West of England from Devonshire to Staffordshire, and up and down the Thames Valley to London and back. He thought they were connected with the Lovells settled round the west of London, but could give no genealogical details to prove this. As time went on they penetrated into Wales (and also into Lancashire, though not to any great extent).¹ Frederick's wife, Carnation Lovell, introduced him to North Wales, where, for many years after his marriage, he travelled a good deal in the company of Simpronius Bohemia, otherwise Bui, Boswell, whose wife, Savaina Lovell, was, I think, a sister of Carnation's. I ought to be quite certain of this, seeing how well I know Bui's daughter Lavinia, the widow of Shandres Smith, but unfortunately Lavinia will not mention the names of dead relations at all; for instance, I have never once heard her pronounce the names of her dead sisters. Certain it is, however, that Carnation and Savaina were very closely related. According to Mōti, Savaina was cousin to his father Nathaniel Lovell. She was, I think, a daughter of Ambi and Sophia Lovell, and had brothers Zachariah, Henry, and Frank. Frederick, then, adopted his wife's country for a time, and his elder children were largely brought up there. But he must have drifted south again later on, for his offspring contracted mar-

¹ This statement in parenthesis only applies to Major Lovell's descendants as far as I know. Of Major's breed the most interesting is Yunéti, daughter of Arty Lovell and Susanna Smith, for a slight account of whom see my 'Affairs of Egypt, 1909,' *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. v. pp. 119-120. There are two interesting notices of the Lovells who intermarried with Shandres Smith's family, migrated to America, and returned to Scotland, in the *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. ii. p. 252, and New Series, vol. i. p. 368.

riages with Gypsies who never travelled as far north as North Wales. In all probability he was quite well known all over the Lovell country as outlined by Shandres Smith, and in South Wales as well as North. Harriet Lovell and her husband Jerry Burton, who belonged to Somerset, eventually migrated into South Wales, where their descendants may now be found, and William Lovell and his wife, Pen Lovell, probably did the same. Of the movements of the rest I cannot give any definite information, nor even make any likely guesses based on the marriages of their children and grandchildren, for very little is known of them. The present distribution of the Slack Lovell family is something of a mystery, for their presence anywhere is so rarely reported that one is almost driven to believe that they must have disappeared, or hidden themselves away in inaccessible corners such as Carmarthenshire, where one family is said to be. We badly need an active Romani Rai in Gloucestershire and the neighbouring English counties, and another in the South-Western Peninsula.

It is to the Slack Lovell family that the tale-telling Syrenda belongs on the male side. He is a son of the Frederick and Carnation Lovell of whom I have already given some account, and brother to William, John, Arthur, Llewelyn (in U.S.A.), Henry, Oli, Josh (in U.S.A.), Sabaina (mar. Ted Smith), and Lementina (mar. Albert Boswell). His cousins on his father's side include the following, names of those who have emigrated or are known to be dead being omitted: (1) Ladin's family—Ladin Major, Jim, Trënit (mar. William Lovell, Syrenda's brother). (2) William's family—Louis, Lurini (mar. Jack Heron), Adolphus, and Luni (mar. Tom Wilson). (3) Tom's family—Windsor, Charlotte, and Lingi. (4) Harriet's family (Burtons)—Noah, Chesáia or Chësi, Henry, and Charlie. Syrenda himself married Rosie Small of Plymouth, a half-breed or worse. In the past he has spent most of his time in North Wales, Shropshire and the Black Country, the Forest of Dean and South Wales, around London, and in Devonshire. Now he contents himself with travelling backwards and forwards between Newport and Swansea. He will not admit that he knows any other tales than the two already recorded from him, but Mr. Myers is convinced that he does. And so far he has declined to say whether or not any of his brothers or sisters or cousins relate folk-tales. This should be investigated, and what more suitable place is there to make a beginning than in the Forest of Dean? Here there are

Lovells, akin to Syrenda presumably, who are settled or semi-settled, and therefore easy to find. They may not be tale-tellers themselves, but they may know others who are, and not be averse to communicating their names. There would be the Johns close at hand too, who might possibly be as good raconteurs as William and Solomon were.

And now that I have come back to William and Solomon Johns I might as well set down what Campbell has to say about the derivation of their tales. 'One brother,' he writes, 'was very proud of the other, who plays the fiddle by ear, and is commonly sent for to wakes, where he entertains the company with stories.' And again: 'The men said that they knew a great many more [tales, and] that they picked these up at wakes and other meetings, where such things are commonly told in England now.'¹

The Welsh Lees

Of the remaining English Gypsies in Wales the Lees alone are of any importance. The main family of Welsh Lees consists of the descendants of Elijah Lee and Sampson Lee, sons of Sam Lee. Elijah married Rosanna Buckland, and had eleven children—Sampson (Scamp), Dilaia, Bill, Melvinia or Milly, Jane, Tom, Silas, Sophia, Christmas, Llewellyn, and John. Sampson married Obadire or Opi Buckland, and had twelve children—Perun, Shandres, Elvaina, Elifa, Seth, Charlie, Gravelini, Dōna, Gēnus, Aizīa, Sūdi, and Job. Of these Sampson, Sophia, Christmas, and John, of one breed, married Gravelini, Job, Perun, and Elifa, of the other, whilst Llewellyn married Gēnus's daughter Martha. Dilaia, Melvinia, Jane, Elvaina, and Dōna married Welsh Herons—*vide* Rev. George Hall's Heron pedigree; Bill married Emily Price; Tom, Selina Scamp, and then Lydia and Annie Jones; Silas, Korolina Lee and a *gāji*; Shandres, Annas Lock; Gēnus, Saiēra Taylor; and the remaining four are either unmarried or dead. Most of these Lees travel in South Wales, but I have met them in North Wales, and also in Lancashire. Mr. Myers, on whose information I have again been relying, knows several of them well, and reports, alas! that they despise tales. However, he has not condemned the whole family, so the collector of folk-tales must not pass them by.

In North Wales there is a second small Lee family, founded

¹ *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. iv. p. 431. Reprinted by Groome in *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. xlv and xlvī.

by Henry Lee (son of Righteous Lee and Penni Cooper), who hailed from Yorkshire. He married Alice Wood, a daughter of 'Black Ellen,' from whom Matthew Wood derived his folk-tales, and has six children living and married—(1) Oliver, mar. Nation Lovell and Julia Boswell; (2) Morjiāna, mar. Bendigo Lee; (3) Ìthel, mar. Mary Ann Lee; (4) Minnie, mar. Manfri Wood; (5) Debōra, mar. a *gđjo*; (6) William, mar. Ada Lock. Oliver is now generally in North Lancashire or Westmorland, and Morjiāna is living in a house in Preston, but the remaining four are all in North Wales. It would not be at all surprising if one at least of these Lees should prove to be a tale-teller, for like Matthew Wood they are grandchildren of 'Black Ellen.' In passing it is just worth noting, perhaps, that Henry Lee's sister Annie married into the family of North-country Lees to which Abraham and Pat belong.

Appy Boswell

The Lying Tales that were related by Appy Boswell (Happy or Abbi or Absolom Boswell, or Boz'l or Boyling) have a wider currency amongst English Gypsies than any other stories; at least, every second Gypsy one meets north of Birmingham can recount some of them. But of Appy's parentage and descent, of his wife or wives, and of his offspring, very little seems to be known. He had a father presumably, but no one has discovered who he was, though it was only at the beginning of the last century that Appy was born. His mother was a Boswell, forename unknown, who afterwards married George Boyling.¹ But no Boswell yet encountered will own Appy as a relation; he does not appear to belong to the Taiso Boswell family, nor to the Laurence (or Dan) Boswell family, nor to the Mordekai Boswell family, nor even to the 'Kaki' Boswells to whom any Boswell who cannot be placed is usually assigned by North-country Gypsies; and presumably he is not connected with the Boswells who occur in patches in the south-west, in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, in the Forest of Dean, in the Swansea neighbourhood, and in Cornwall, for he hailed from the North Midlands.² His wife, or chief wife, Mr. Hall has dis-

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. v. p. 160.

² Since this was written I have received a letter from Mr. Hall, in which he tells me that he has now heard that Appy's mother was sister to an Elijah Boswell who, by the aid of four wives, did his best to fill Lincolnshire with Gypsies. This Elijah, he is inclined to think, was a cousin of Mordecai Boswell, though up to the present he has not succeeded in obtaining the connecting links. I am very much indebted to Mr. Hall for this and other new information about Appy Boswell.

covered, was a certain Becky Clayton. He may have had a second one, for a time at any rate, for in Noah Lock's Appy Boswell stories his spouse is called Anis. Now the only Anis who appears in any Gypsy pedigree that I have ever seen is the Anis Smith who formed an irregular and temporary alliance with her father-in-law Edmund Heron, and it is not altogether impossible that she also formed an irregular and temporary alliance with Appy as well. Noah Lock would probably be acquainted with this Anis. Of his children the names of two only have been elicited: Trënit, who is said to have married a Midland Sheriff,¹ and Dōsia, who seems to have married Nathan Smith, grand-uncle of the Ernest Smith (son of Īza and Hannah Smith), from whom Mr. Winstedt heard the versions of the dog and donkey tales given below. George Booth, whom Mr. Winstedt met recently near Sheffield, claimed to have two sisters, his eldest and youngest (? one or both half-sisters), who had married Appy's eldest and youngest sons, but he 'named no names.' He stated that Appy died about forty years ago in Warner's Lane, Derby, and that his wife, Becky, died at Chesterfield. This is a very meagre biography for such a famous man, but it is more than most Gypsies, who glibly recount the tales about Appy's dog and Appy's donkey, can tell you. To them his life-history amounts to this: He was born. He married and had children. He travelled in the Midlands as far down as Birmingham. He told Lying Tales. He has been dead now these many years back.

'That's Appy all over, that is.' 'That's a reg'lar Appy tale.' Such is the usual comment of Herons, Boswells, and Grays should one of their number spin a wildly imaginative story of his own doings. 'Appy!' or 'Ap!' ejaculated at any point during a comparatively sober narrative indicates that the interrupter regards the statement just made as 'nothink but a bit o' romancing,' as Gus Gray expressed it. 'You see, rai,' he continued, 'us Gypsies is a very polite race o' people, an' we don't like to say to a man as he's lying—it's a bit strong to call a man a liar, isn't it now? 'specially if he's a better man nor you—so we just say "Appy!" or "Go it, Appy!" or "Ap!" or summat o' t' soart, an' he understands

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. v. p. 160. Mr. Hall tells me that this Sheriff who married Ettie or Trënit Boswell was Hope Sheriff, brother of the Eldorai Sheriff who married Isaiah Boswell, son of Moses Boswell and Trënit Heron (Hn. D. 27). The Tom, John, and William Sheriff who were sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude each in 1903 for the manslaughter of P. C. Price of Stretton, near Burton-on-Trent, were sons of Hope and Ettie. Mr. Hall in his letter mentions two more of Appy's daughters, Susau, married George Heap, grinder, and Lementina, married Jim Smith.

just the same.' But there were 'notified liars' before Appy Boswell. There was Clod, for instance, still known to the older Herons, Boswells, and Grays. 'That's a Clod's tale,' or 'Clod!' Isaac Heron used to say under the circumstances just mentioned, so the Rev. D. M. M. Bartlett informs me, and I have heard the same expressions from both Taimi Boswell and Joshua Gray (of Southport) when imitating the speech of an earlier generation. Both Taimi and Joshua said that Clod was the name of a man who used to tell the same kind of Lying Tales as Appy, but they were both uncertain as to whether it was a surname, a forename, or a nickname, and as to whether its possessor was a Gypsy or a *gájo*. And there was Lucas, familiar to all readers of *In Gipsy Tents*. 'That's a reg'lar Lucas's tale.' 'Lucas always was a liar.' 'There! Lucas is at it again.' 'He's like Lucas, — is.' These and other similar phrases are still used by the present-day Locks, especially Esmeralda. Of Lucas Groome wrote in 1880: 'Lucas [was] a Romani Munchausen who flourished about half a century ago, but is still remembered for his powers of romancing.'¹ And lastly there is Kush, or *Hukano* Kush. 'Have you heeard the tales about old *Hukano* Kush?' asked Shanny Gray of me one day. I invited him to proceed, whereupon he related the stories of Appy Boswell's dog and donkey. The word *Kush* I had heard once previously, ejaculated by old Tilda Pinfold of Gorleston: as she used it it meant 'liar!' I was also well aware that it occurred in a supplementary list in Smart and Crofton: 'Koosh, *n.* and *v.*, Lie, falsehood. Cf. Pasp. *kushipe*.'² And I had turned up this word in Paspati,³ and found: '*Kushipe*, *n. abstr. du v. kusháva. Injure, offense*,' and also: '*Kusháva, v. Injurier, offenser*.' So I inquired carefully of Shanny about *Hukano* Kush; and in reply to my questions he stated that *Hukano* Kush was another name for Appy Boswell; that Kush was a man's name, and not a Romani word, and that you might say 'Kush!' meaning 'liar!' just as you might say 'Appy!' though he had only heard it once or twice, and did not use it himself. A little later I asked Taimi Boswell and Joshua Gray about Kush, putting my questions as fairly as possible, and asking them the same thing two or three times in different words. They agreed absolutely in their replies, which in substance were as follows: (1) Kush was the name of a

¹ *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 161.² *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 294.³ *Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de L'Empire Ottoman* (Constantinople, 1870), pp. 300-1.

man who used to tell romancing tales of his own doings like Appy and Clod, but they did not know whether it was his surname, forename, or nickname, or whether he was a *Romanichal* or a *gájo*. (2) He was not identical with Appy Boswell, but lived much earlier. (3) 'Kush!' was used by some old Gypsies in the same way as 'Clod!' was by Isaac Heron, and as 'Appy!' is to-day, but it was not a Romani word any more than Clod and Appy were. It would not be used of a man who was lying for profit, or to try to avoid getting into trouble. No Gypsy would say '*Tuti's penin* a *kush*,' or '*Tuti's kushin*.' I have now given all my evidence on this point; I can do no more.

The Appy Boswell tales printed below are intended to supplement those already published by Groome and the Rev. George Hall, to which reference has been made in the Prefatory Notes. The dog tale, it would appear, has the widest currency of all, and then comes the donkey tale, the rest being much rarer. South of Birmingham the name of Appy Boswell is practically unknown, except to those families who travel as far north as the Black Country, but Mr. Winstedt has discovered that lying tales identical with or similar to 'Appy Boswell's Dog' are attached to other people by South-country Gypsies; to Aaron Bland of Headington by the Johns, and to Oliver Lee of Kent by some Kentish Lees. Here is something which is well worth investigating further; but then the whole subject of Gypsy 'liars' and Lying Tales invites research. Who are the traditional 'liars' of our less known English Gypsy families, and what tales are attributed to them? Are any further tales attached to Aaron Bland¹ and Oliver Lee? What tales were related of Clod and Kush and Lucas? (This, perhaps, it is too late to discover.) How did names like Clod and Kush arise? Are Lying Tales of quite recent origin ever attributed to Appy Boswell or any other of the 'romancers'? Which Gypsies, in addition to

¹ Mr. Winstedt writes to say that the Johns have one other tale which they attribute to Aaron Bland. He gives an outline of this as follows: Aaron said he was in his tent with two hams. He saw a money spider, threw the hams over it, and kept on throwing them before him till he came to his father's tent. But on the way was a pool with a big fish in it. He waited till this fish came near enough for him to throw his leg over it. Then he rode it round the pool nine times till it 'holler'd.' 'The Blands,' says Mr. Winstedt, 'were probably an old vagrant "canting crew": at least I have a few references to them as vagrants for some centuries back. There are still some of them on the roads, e.g. the "Nine Mile" Blands (so called because the family when travelling straggles over nine miles of road), who, according to Ernest Smith, live in woods near Maidenhead half naked, and disappear up trees at the approach of a human being!'

the families of Taimi Boswell and Abraham Lee, amuse themselves by inventing Lying Tales?

'Appy, you's de biggest owld liar as ever walked God's earth,' a Gypsy once remarked to Appy Boswell. 'Dat's just where you makes a mistake,' replied Appy. 'My lies,' he said, 'is nobbut about myself an' my own relongings, but you goes an' tells lies about other people an' their relongings. Now which is de biggest liar, me or you?'

I am deeply grateful to all those who have so kindly and unstintingly placed both time and material at my disposal; and especially to Mr. E. O. Winstedt, Mr. John Myers, Rev. George Hall, and Mr. Alfred James, to all of whom my indebtedness is very great indeed.

TEXT OF TALES—SERIES I.

1. THE ROBBER AND THE HOUSEKEEPER

From Noah Lock

THE' was wonst a big high gentleman what lived in a fine mansion, a very grand place it was an' no mistake, standing back in its own grounds, an' the' was a carriage drive leading up to it from the road, an' trees growing all about it. I can't tell you exac'y who he was, but he was some very high notified gentleman. Now it so come about at the time I'm a-speaking on as this gentleman, an' the lady his wife, an' their son—they only had but-one son—an' their two da'ghters, they all went away for a week's holiday. An' they had a little baby, this gentleman an' lady had, but they didn't take it wid 'em; they left it at home wid the housekeeper; an' they left one 'n the sarvant gals as well for comp'ny like for the housekeeper, but the tother sarvant gals they took wid 'em.

They'd be gone away now some two or three days, when the' comes knocking at the doar 'n the house an' owld woman—or so she'd 'pear to be—a rale comital owld woman. An' this owld woman got a-gate telling tales an' things, an' sich funny tales she towld that she kept the housekeeper an' the tother sarvant in fits o' laughing. She got on an' got on, one tale a'ter another, an' all the time they was standing at the back doar, all the three 'n they. Whatsumever, a'ter a bit, the one sarvant says to the tother: 'Shall we ax her to come in an' sit down a bit?' 'Well aye,' says

the tother, 'she'll be a bit o' good comp'ny for we.' So they axes her in, an' sets vittles afoare her—plenty to eat an' plenty to drink—an' a'ter when she'd had a bellyful they all sits talking, an' telling tales, an' laughing till nigh upon night time.

So whatever to you, the owld woman now begins to ax 'em for one bit o' thing an' another, an' they gi'es her these, for they wa'n't o' no value not to speak on. Getting bowld like she axes 'em for summat else, an' this thing it was o' some value, though what it was exac'ly I couldn't rightly say—not now. Whatsumever, it was kept upstairs, this thing was what she 'd axed for, so the sarvant an' the housekeeper as well they both goes upstairs, an' they leaves the little baby downstairs in the kitchen wid the owld woman. Whether it was they couldn't find it, or whether it was they was talking it over a bit as to how they should get rid 'n this owld woman, or what, I couldn't say, but they was a t'emendous long while upstairs, an' the owld woman gets out o' patience wid waiting. 'If you don't come down at wonst,' she hollers out, 'an' bring me that thing what I axed you for, then I shall restroy this baby.' Whatsumever, they 'pears to take no notice on her, so she makes for the baby, an' is just going to knock its brains out, when out jumps a big, black 'triever dog, as had been sleeping in the corner wid one eye open all the time, an' which she'd never as much as noticed afoare. It has her by the throat afoare she could stir hand or limb to keep it off, an' shakes the life out'n her—aye, kills her stone dead on the spot it does.

As soon as they hears the baby scream the housekeeper an' the tother sarvant they comes rushing downstairs, an' they finds the owld woman lying dead on the floar, an' the big 'triever dog standing over her. Now being as she is dead they begins to sarch her, an' what should they find but that the owld woman isn't a woman at all, but a man dressed up in woman's things. There's something 'spicious about this, they thinks, an' they goes through all his pockets, an' there they finds a 'volver—a six chamber 'volver—a dagger, and a horn.

Whatsumever to you, the housekeeper now takes an' blows this horn, three times she blows it, an' no sooner has she done this but what three robbers comes running up the drive as fast as ever they can. She doesn't lose not a minute; she snatches up the 'volver and shoots two 'n they dead on the spot, an' the third she'd have sarved the same, only but he run away agen afoare she had the time.

Now when the master an' mistress come home agen it was only nat'ral-like 'at the first thing they should ax was, how had their little baby been this long time. 'Oh! quite well,' says the housekeeper, for she didn't like to say nothink about the robbers. But the tother sarvant she wa'n't agen telling, so she up an' towld the whole story. When the master heeard this he was very pleased at the way the housekeeper had done to the robbers. He should make her comfor'able for the rest 'n her life, he said, an' she should have a house 'n her own near by to his, an' no more work to do, that was not unless she had a mind to, an' she shouldn't want for nothink, he said, as long as he had money to buy it wid. So soon a'ter he had a very tidy soart 'n a house builded in his own grounds, an' this he gi'ed to the housekeeper for her very own, to do as she liked wid.

Whatever to you, the robber as had run away an' missed getting killed, he put a 'vartisement into the papers saying as how he'd like to find a job as coachman wid some gentleman; he was very used to horses, he said, and a good stidy driver. Now it just so happened as the gentleman what lived in the mansion next to the one where the housekeeper was stood in want 'n a coachman, so when he seen the 'vartisement into the papers he sent for the robber, an' gi'ed him a month's trial, an' when the month was up he took him on for good.

Afoare long this robber gets on wid the housekeeper, and goes courting her very strong. An' she gets rale sweet on him, her not knowing like who he is, for he was a very good-looking man, an' pleasant spoken enough when it suited his parpose. A'ter a bit he axes her, will she marry him. She doesn't say 'yes,' nor yet she doesn't say 'no,' but she goes straight to her master an' tells him all, an' axes him: 'what shall I do?' 'Oh! that's soon answered,' he says. 'If you're fond 'n him,' he says, 'then marry him. But if you don't like him,' he says, 'then don't marry him.' 'Oh! I love him,' she says. 'Well then,' he says, 'that being the state o' 'fairs you go an tell him you'll have him.' So she did, and afoare long they got married, an' went to live in the house what the gentleman'd had builded for her.

At first they was very happy of course like everybody is. About six months passed, an' then one day the robber tells his wife as he's going to take her to see his delations. 'You know, my dear, he says, 'we now been married this long time, an' I ha'n't as much as set eyes on one 'n my own people from that day to this.

They must think it strange 'n we not going over to see 'em.' 'Yes, dear,' she says, 'we ought to go, and I'm sure it'll be a great pleasure to me.' 'It will,' he says, and away he goes to harness the pony, an' yoke it. She gets up into the trap besides him, and off they sets.

He drives on and on over mountains and all manner o' wild lonesome places all that day, and all the next day, and all the day a'ter that agen. About the fourth day she begins to be a bit anazy in her mind, an' wonders, poor thing, wherever they can be going to, an' whenever will they get there. She works herself up into sich a state till at last she bursts out crying; she couldn't keep it in no longer. 'Oh! my dear husband,' she says, 'where are we going to, an' however much farther is it?' 'Be quiet, woman,' he says, 'you'll find out just now; an' plenty soon enough that'll be, for if you only but knew what was to happen to you when we get to my brother's house you wouldn't be fretting your heart out to get there.' 'Oh! my dear,' she says, 'whatever is up with you talking so strange-like.' 'Well, if you will know,' he says, 'it was you murdered my two brothers, and now we're a-going to take us vengeance on you.' At that she begun crying agen, an' begging him on her bended knees to take her back home, but he didn't take not a bit o' notice on her, only towld her to stop her hollering, or it would be the worse for her.

In about another day they comes to the robbers' house, an' the robbers they takes an' shuts up the housekeeper in a room, an' strips her stark mother naked, an' ties her up to the ceiling by the hairs 'n her head, an' leaves her there, whils' they go an' talk over what kind o' death they shall put her to. Whatsumever, they hadn't tied her hands, so as soon as they're gone out 'n the room she gets to work breaking her hairs, two or three at a time, bit by bit, till at last she works herself loose. She opens the window as quiet as ever she can, an' Lord! she was a-frightened for fear they should hear her, but they didn't, so she gets out. She takes a good look round to make cartain as nobody is watchin' her, an' then away she runs as fast as her legs can take her, away back on the road they'd come.

Whatever to you, she might be gone from the robbers' house p'r'aps three or four hours, an' she was fair fit to drop, an' all of a faint, when she comes up wid an owld man driving a cart all full o' nothink only but apples. An' she towld this owld man 'bout the state she was in—which there wa'n't no need for, as he'd got eyes

an' could see for hisself—an' how she was running away from some robbers as was going to take her life, an' where it was she was wanting to get to. 'Oh!' she says, 'if only you could find it in your heart to do a kindness to a poor woman in trouble, an' help her on her way a bit!' The owld man was very sorry for her, an' so, being as he was going her road, he towld her to jump up besides him, which she did pretty quick as you can guess. An' he shifts the apples away from one side 'n the cart, an' tells her to lay herself down there, an' she does, an' he covers her all over wid the apples.

He drives on now, an' for about two days they goes on and on over the mountains an' places, an' never sets eyes on a soul. Then a fine gentleman on horseback comes up wid they. It was the robber this was, an' the owld man knowed it well enough, for he was cunning owld fellow. He'd heeard the horse coming along behind him all the while, but he hadn't as much as turned round. 'My good man,' says the robber, 'have you seen annythink on a woman going stark mother naked?' 'N—o,' the owld man answers him, an' goes driving on. 'But she's come this road,' says the robber, 'an' she must ha' passed you somewheres, for she isn't behind you.' The owld man pulls up. 'Well,' he says, 'now I come to think 'n it, I seen somethink yesterday what looked very funny; I couldn't make nothink on it. Somethink white it was, 'way back on the owld road right over yonder, miles an' miles back. What it was though I couldn't say, I'm sure.' 'Ah!' says the robber, 'that must ha' been her,' an' wi' that he puts spurs to his horse, an' gallops off to look for her down the owld side road, what was many an' many a mile back.

The owld man laughs to hisself an' goes on agen, an' he gets a long way on afoare the robber comes up wid him a second time. 'Stop, you owld white-headed rascal,' he shouts, the robber does, cussing an' swearing somethink awful; 'you been telling me lies for a parpose.' 'No,' says the owld man, 'that I ha'n't, for I ha'n't never towld you no lies at all.' 'Well anyhow,' says the robber, 'the woman ha'n't gone that road what you towld me.' 'Well, I never said as she had,' says the owld man, very quiet-like. 'All I said was I seen some funny white thing along the owld road. It was you yourself,' he says, 'as said it must be her.' 'Ah!' says the robber, 'I can see you got moare knowledge on her nor what you lets on, you owld varmint. I shouldn't wonder if you ha'n't got her in

your cart all the time.' 'No I ha'n't,' says the owld man; 'but if you don't put no trust in my words p'raps you'll believe your own eyes. Look,' he says, an' he pulls off the cover off 'n his cart, an' shows the robber his cart full of apples. 'She's not here, is she now?' 'No,' says the robber, 'I can't see nothink only but apples.' Then a'ter this the robber leaves him, an' the owld man drives on now till he comes to the place where the housekeeper lives.

Whatever to you, the first thing the housekeeper does is to go an' tell her owld master everythink what has happened to her, an' she begs him to save her from the robber. 'My dear,' he says very kind-like, 'don't you think no moare about it. You must stay here,' he says, 'in my house, an' you shall have everythink what you wants—plenty to eat an' to drink, an' plenty o' grand clothes to wear, an' a lady companion to be wid you always. And as for the robber,' he says, 'just leave him to me; I'll see to it as he don't do you no harm. I got a plan for catching him,' he says; 'it's just now come into my head.'

An' wid that he goes off, an' orders bills to be put out everywhere, on every barn-doar, and every tree, and every gate-post for miles an' miles round, saying as on sich-an'-sich a day he'll give a big feast, and as everybody is axed to it, rich an' poor, they'll all be made welcome. Now it gets on an' gets on 'till it's only but two days afoare the feast is to be gi'ed, when the robber he comes back agen into them parts, an' of course it's not long till he sees the bills. He goes to his wife's house, but it's empty. Well, he thinks it over to hisself, as the best he can do is to reguise hisself an' go to this feast; she is sure to be there, he thinks, an' he can watch her where she goes a'ter when it is over.

On the night 'n the feast there is the housekeeper, all dressed in silks an' satins, an' her lady companion at her side, walking up an' down, up an' down, in the grand hall where the supper is laid. An' the master he is standing at the doar shaking hands wid everybody as they comes in. Of course they're both 'n they looking out for the robber. Now it's a curious thing that though they seen everybody as come in they didn't see the robber among 'em, neither the one nor yet the tother didn't. And agen when all the guests is sat down to the tables they both walks back'ards an' for'ards, an' back'ards an' for'ards, an' they has a good look at everybody, an' yet they can't find him, though they knew as he must be in the room somewheres. 'Well, this is ancominon

strange,' says the master; 'but I'll find him yet afoare the night is out, just you see.'

Now a'ter when they'd all eaten till they couldn't eat no moare, an' drunk most all the wine, the master he gêts up from his place, an' he begins to make a bit 'n a speech. 'I been greatly pleased,' he says, 'wid your comp'ny here to-night. An' now,' he says, 'afoare you go—and I shall be very sorry to have to part from you—the's just one thing. I'm now going to call for a toast,' he says, 'which I wants *all* 'n you here present, *every one* 'n you, to drink standing up, *wid your left hands flat open above your heads*, so.' It was a cunning trick this was, for the robber you see had the two first fingers 'n his left hand cut off by the middle joints, so that when they all stood up an' raised their hands to drink the toast he was fun' out. The master tells his sarvants to seize him, an' he sends to fatch a rigiment o' soldiers, an' they comes, an' they shoots him. An' that was the end 'n the robber.

2. THE TWO SWANS

From Noah Lock

The' was wonst a young lady what was very much in love, an' on recount 'n this her father an' mother they both turned agen her, an' her father said as if ever she should speak wid the young gentleman agen he should have 'em 'headed, the both 'n they. Now this young lady's parents they lived in a very big house nearby to the side 'n a lake, an' on this lake the' was two swans. It was a very nice place for a bit o' sweethearting down by this lake—all trees, an' walks, an' bits o' paths—an' it was here the young lady an' gentleman was in the habit o' meeting wid one another.

Now a'ter what the young lady's father had said—an' he meant it, mind—they had to be very careful they wasn't seen, for they still went on meeting wid one another just the same as afoare. Whatever to you, all went well for a goodish while, till one day they was caught proper, an' by the owld gentleman, the young lady's father, hisself. Now as soon as he seen they was fun' out, the young gentleman he takes to his heels, an' runs for his life, till he comes to a t'emendous big river, what he jumps into an' swiins across to the tother side—a very fine swimmer he was. An' as for the young lady, she ups an' follows him as hard as ever

she can, but when she comes to the river she doesn't know how-
ever to get across, for it was a very broad river, an' running that
strong. Whatsumever, she bethinks herself 'n the two swans on
the lake, an' she calls to the one 'n they to come, an' it comes, an'
she gets onto its back, an' it swims wid her across. An' now as
they're both 'n they together agen, an' safe from getting caught,
the first thing the two sweethearts does is to go an' get married.

So whatever to you, being as she was now safely married, the
young lady was all for their going back home agen, but the young
gentleman he didn't seem to see no sense in this; he didn't want
to be 'headed. It wa'n't no good, though, as the young lady had
made up her mind to it. 'Do you go then,' he says, 'an' I'll come
a bit later on, for I'm cartain sure,' he says, 'as if I was to go wid you
now your father 'd be in sich a temper he 'd 'head the both 'n we.'
But she wouldn't hear 'n this, not at no price. 'What is the good
'n getting married then?' she axes. 'No, we must both go,' she
says, 'for it would be better to be 'headed together 'an 'at we
should ever be parted.' In the end, of course, she has her way.

So they goes back to the river, an' calls for the two swans.
An' they gets onto the two swans' backs, an' the swans carries 'em
across to the tother side, an' as the two sweethearts goes walking
along the river bank arm in arm, same as they would do for sure,
the two swans goes wid 'em, one on each side. Well, whatever to
you, they goes on an' they goes on till they gets back to the lake
agen, the two swans walking by their sides all the whole way.
An' now they gets onto the two swans' backs agen, one onto each,
an' the swans swims out wid 'em right into the middle 'n the lake,
an' then they stops. An' the two sweethearts sleeps there that
night on the two swans' backs among the feathers.

Next morning they gets up right early, an' goes up to the
house. Nobody's about yet, so they creeps round till they finds a
window open, an they climbs in by this, an' goes to bed together in
one 'n the bedrooms. They might ha' been there p'raps five or six
hours afoare one 'n the sarvants comes into the room to sweep, an'
finds 'em there. She goes at wonst, this sarvant does, an' tells the
mistress.

Now, whatever to you, the mother 'n this young lady, she
doesn't want for her daughter to be 'headed, nor yet the young
gentleman neither, for she sees as her child has set her heart on
him. So she goes to her husband, an' she tells him as she has
just heeard as the young people is safe, an' as she knows where

they've got to. 'Well where?' he axes. 'Oh! that,' she says, 'I won't tell you, not unless you'll first gi'e me the promise not to do 'em anny harm.' 'I sha'n't promise no sich thing,' he says; 'I'll 'head the both 'n they. Now where are they? Tell me, woman, an' be quick about it.' 'No, I sha'n't,' she says, 'not till you've promised. Give 'em a good recommanding,' she says, 'but don't restroy 'em.' He gets terrible angry, the owld gentleman does, but it's no use, she won't tell him; so at last he takes the oath that he'll spare their lives. Now being as he's gi'en the promise she tells him. 'You'll find 'em in bed together,' she says, 'in sich-an'-sich a bedroom, an' what you got to do is to make the young gentleman marry her at wonst—aye at wonst.' 'By God!' he says, 'I will that, but they desарves to be 'headed, the both 'n they.'

He goes straight to this bedroom now, where his da'ghter an' the young gentleman is, an' he knocks at the doar. They calls him to come in. There they are in bed together, an' he could ha' f'un' it in his heart to kill 'em stone dead on the spot. 'You knows what you got to expect?' he axes. 'Yes,' they answers, an' they didn't seem to care not a bit. An' wid them being so brave-like, an' not caring, his heart goes out for they, an' he promises as he won't do them not the leastest bit o' harm if the young gentleman 'll only but do one thing. 'I'll do annythink,' the young gentleman answers up, 'even if it should cost me my life.' 'Well then,' he says, 'I wants you to go an' get married to my da'ghter at wonst.' 'That's anpossible,' says the young gentleman. 'What!!!' he says, 'you refuse to do it! then I shall 'head the both 'n you.' 'Well, I'm very sorry,' says the young gentleman, 'but I can't do it. We're married already, you see.' 'Married already!! How do you make that out?' he axes. 'When were you married an' where were you married, I should like to know?' 'Oh! we were married yesterday,' the young gentleman tells him, 'over into sich-and-sich a place,' mentioning its name. 'That's nothink only but a pack o' lies,' he says, 'for you couldn't never get there, not on recount 'n the big river the' is to cross.' 'Oh! I swimmied over,' says the young gentleman. 'Well, maybe you did,' he says—he didn't believe him, of course—'or maybe you didn't, but my da'ghter, however should she get across?' 'Go an' ax the swans, daddy,' she tells him. 'Do you think to make a fool 'n me, gal?' he says. 'How should they know, poor dumb creatures like them?' 'Well, go an' ax 'em,' she says, 'an' then you'll find out.'

He's terrible angry agen, the owld gentleman is, as he thinks they're making a fool 'n him. Whatsumever, he goes in the end, an' the swans tells him how the young gentleman swinmed across the river, an' how they carried his sweetheart over to him, an' how they fatched the both 'n they back, an' how the two sweethearts slept that night on their two backs in the middle 'n the lake.

Now a'ter when he'd heeard this, an' when he knowed by it as the young people hadn't been telling him no lies, he began to think as he'd been very hard on they. So he gi'ed his da'ghter an' his new son-i'-law a big house close by to his own, an' there they lived happy ever a'ter. An' for annythink as I know they're living there still.

3. THE KING OF THE HERRINGS

From Noah Lock

'The' was wonst a little boy, a very wild soart of a little boy but very good-hearted, an' his name was Jack. Now one day Little Jack was ram'ling about down on the sea shoare when he seen a little herring lying out 'n the water, an' wiggling about very uncomfor'able-like in the hot sun. He picks it up, an' looks at it, Little Jack does, an' he's just wondering to hisself whether to put it back agen into the water, when Little Herring opens his mouth an' speaks to him. 'Jack,' he says, 'if you'll only but put me back into the sea agen, then I'll do you anny sarvice as lies in my powers, at anny time when you're in want o' help.' So Jack chucks him back into the sea, an' not for a long time does he think 'n Little Herring agen.

In time of course Little Jack grows up, an' comes to be a man. He's on board a big ship now, crossing the sea to some foreign country, when one day it so happens as a fine lady, what is on this same ship, drops her gowld ring into the sea. She makes herself in a great state about it, this lady does. 'I would give annythink,' she says—an' the tears was stood in her eyes—'if only I could get that ring back agen.' Now when Little Jack heears her say this he steps for'ards—he was only but very poorly dressed an' she was in her silks an' satins. 'Axcuse me, lady,' he says, 'but supposing I was to get back that ring for you, what would you be willing to do for me?' 'Well,' she says, 'I would either marry you, or gi'e you a thousand pounds, one or the tother. But can you get it back for me,' she axes, 'being as it's at the

bottom 'n the sea?' 'Annyways I can try, lady,' Jack answers. 'But how,' she axes, 'how can it be done at all?' 'Oh!' says Jack, 'I got a friend, a very pertic'lar friend, an' he'll help me.'

Wid this Jack goes off, an' he calls to his friend the little herring, an' Little Herring heears him an' comes as fast as ever he can—he's the king 'n the herrings now. 'Hello, Jack,' he calls out, 'is that you?' 'Yes,' Jack answers him. 'I thought as you would come when you heeard me calling on you.' 'Well, what is it you want, Jack?' he axes. 'Can I do annythink for you?' 'Yes,' says Jack, 'if you'll be good enough to, you can. The's a lady on board this ship,' he says, 'what has lost her gowld ring, an' she wants to get it back very bad, an' I've mentioned to her as I'd do my best for her.' 'Oh! all right, Jack,' says King Herring. 'But whereabouts is it?' 'At the bottom 'n the sea,' Jack tells him. 'But can't you gi'e me no idea whereabouts?' King Herring axes. 'The bottom 'n the sea is sich a big place.' 'I'm very sorry to have to say as I can't,' says Jack. 'That is a pity now,' says King Herring, 'for I shall have to look all over, an' it may take me days an' days an' days to find it. But I'll do my best for you, Jack.'

Then off he goes, King Herring does, an' he swims about sarching everywheres for the ring, but the bottom 'n the sea is a big place for sure, an' poor Little Herring couldn't light on it nowheres. At the end 'n three days he comes up agen. 'Hello!' says Jack—Jack had been on the look-out for him, of course. 'Have you got it?' 'No,' says King Herring, 'I ha'n't yet, Jack. I've only come up for breath, an' I'm just now going back agen.' So poor Little Herring goes back, an' begins sarching on the bottom 'n the sea all over agen. Whatever to you, he's not so very long finding the ring this time—p'r'aps about another day—an' poor little fellow I da'say he was very pleased. He takes the ring in his mouth, an' goes to find Jack now, an' he gi'es Jack the ring, an' Jack is relighted, an' thanks him for all what he has done; an' King Herring says as he will be only too pleased if he can be of anny farther sarvice at anny time.

Whatsumever, Jack now takes the ring, an' gi'es it back to the lady, an' my! isn't she set up to have it agen. 'But what I can't for the life 'n me un'erstand,' she says, 'is however you could get it back wi'out being drowned, an' you,' she says, 'walking about on the bottom 'n the sea this long while.' 'Oh!' says Jack, 'it was my friend as I mentioned to you, he got it for me.' 'Well,'

she says, 'I now lost my bunch o' keys: I let 'em fall overboard yesterday. An' Jack,' she says, 'if you can only but get these back for me, then I'll marry you for certain sure.' 'I'll go an' ax my friend,' says Jack; 'he can get annythink for me.'

So Little Jack goes, an' he calls to King Herring agen, an' King Herring heears him, an' comes. 'Is the' annythink I can do for you, Jack?' he axes. An' Jack tells him about the bunch o' keys. 'Well whereabouts will they be, Jack?' he axes. 'Can't you gi'e me some soart 'n a notion?' 'Oh! about a mile back,' Jack tells him, 'for it was only but yesterday as they was lost.'¹ So King Herring goes, and he sarches about for one day this time, an' then he comes by the keys; an' a'ter when he has fun' 'em he comes swimming up to Jack, an' hands him the keys, an' Jack thanks him agen for what he has done.

Jack cleans the keys up a bit—for they'd got rusty wid being in the water—an' then he takes an' gi'es 'em back to the lady. 'Well now, Jack,' she says, a'ter when she had thanked him, 'as soon as ever we gets to land you must have a new suit o' clothes, an' then we'll go an' get married wi'out moare relay.' She was as good as her word, this lady was, an' soon a'ter her an' Jack got married. They went to live in a very big mansion, an' there they lived happy together from that day to this.

4. STRONG JACK

From Noah Lock

The' was wonst an owld woman what had only but one son, an' his name was Jack. An' she kept him in bed till he was twenty-one years of age. Whatsumever, about a month afoare, she sent for the tailor, an' had him measured for a suit o' clothes. On the day when he is twenty-one his-owld mother calls Jack early, an' tells him he is to get up, which he does. He finds a new suit o' clothes put ready for him, so he dresses hisself, an' a'ter when he has dressed he has a good look at hisself in the glass. He looks fine, he thinks. Of course he'd never had a suit o' clothes on in his life afoare. Then he goes downstairs, an' has his breakfast wid his owld mother. An' when he thinks of hisself sat up to the table wid his

¹ Here Mr. Winstedt disagrees with me. 'I can't understand this part of the tale,' he writes. 'If the woman said "yesterday" how could it be only a mile off? That is what made me think the key incident happened after they had got home, and the lady had merely been out for a sail or something of the kind. Indeed, I had (and still have) an idea that Jack took the ring to her castle or mansion.'

mother he can't help but laugh: it seems so funny to him what has never been out 'n bed afoare.

Now a'ter when they'd finished breakfast his owld mother says to him: 'Jack,' she says, 'I wants you now to go to the farm over there, an' bring me some straw for the pig to lie on. The farmer,' she says, 'has gi'ed me leave to get some.' 'Right,' says Jack. 'I'll go, mother. But, mother,' he axes, 'what rope shall I take?' 'Oh! I got only but one rope,' she tells him. 'Well, where is it?' he axes. 'Hanging up in the kitchen,' she says. So Jack goes an' gets the rope—a t'emendous big thick rope it was, as thick as my arm—an' then off he sets to the farm.

Whatever to you, on the road he meets wid the farmer hisself. 'Hello! my lad,' says the farmer. 'Where may you be come from?' 'Out 'n bed,' Jack tells him. 'My mother,' he says, 'has kept me in bed for twenty-one years, an' I'm only just now got up. An' being as she has done so much for me,' he says, 'I wants to be a help to her now, so I was just a-going,' he says, 'to fatch her that straw for the pig, what you gi'ed her the promise on.' 'Very good, my lad,' says the farmer, 'you can go an' get as much as ever you can carry.'

Jack thanks him, an' bids him good morning, an' goes on now till he comes to the stackyard. He takes the rope, an' he throws it round the whole 'n one stack—an' it wa'n't the littlest neither—an' he lifts an' he pulls till he gets the stack fair an' square onto his back. Then he goes off home wid it, an' when he gets it there he sets it down in the front garden. 'There, mother,' he says, 'that'll last you a long while, I'll lay it will.' An' a'ter when he has done this he goes off into the back garden to dig her up a few 'tatoes.

So whatever to you, the farmer soon comes to the owld woman's cottage to see what's gotten his stack, an' there he finds it in front 'n the house in the front garden. 'Morning, missis,' he says. 'Is that son o' yours at home?' 'Yes,' she tells him, 'he's in the back garden digging up a few 'tatoes for the dinner.' 'I'll just go an' have a word wid him,' says the farmer. 'Well aye,' she says, 'do.' So the farmer goes through into the back garden. 'Hello! young fellow,' he says; 'what the hangment do you mean by taking the whole 'n one o' my stacks?' 'Well,' says Jack, 'you said as I was to have as much straw as ever I could carry, didn't you? That's all I've ta'en, master. An' besides,' he says, 'it'll be a good thing for my poor owld mother, for it'll last her a long time.' 'I

da'say it will,' says the farmer; 'but never mind, we'll say no moare about it.'

Now the farmer gets a-gate talking wid Jack, an' a'ter a bit he axes him what work he can do. 'Oh, annythink,' says Jack, 'as I knows how to.' 'An' you wants work, Jack?' he axes. 'Yes,' says Jack, an' he was very pleased at the thoughts o' getting a job. 'I'd be glad of anny work,' he says, 'for now I wants to keep my owld mother, being as she has kept me for twenty-one years.' 'Do you think you could manage to carry water?' the farmer axes him. 'Yes,' says Jack, 'I could do that first class.' 'Very well then, my lad,' says the farmer; 'come to my house to-morrow morning early: it's washing day.' 'Right you are,' says Jack; 'I'll be there.'

Next morning, when Jack goes, the farmer gi'es him two buckets an' tells him to go across the field—a very big field it was—to the well, an' fatch enough water to fill the boiler for washing. Away Jack goes, an' he fatches two bucketfuls, an' pours 'em into the boiler, an' then he fatches two moare, an' two moare agen; an' he goes on this way, aye for three or four hours, an' yet he can't see the boiler getting not the leastest little bit fuller. 'Dang it,' he says, 'I will fill it.' So whatever should he do now, but the' is a big barrel—a t'emendous big cask—stood close by to the boiler; well, he gets this, an' puts it onto his back, an' then off he goes to the well agen wid this big barrel on his back, an' the two buckets in his hands. He fills this barrel, an' the two buckets, an' brings the three 'n they, an' empties the lot into the boiler. He does this two or three times moare, an' then the farmer comes to see how he's getting on. 'Stop, Jack,' he says. 'That'll do. You've fatched too much.'

Whatsomever to you, as Jack was going home that night from the farmer's who should he meet wid but a sowldier. 'Hello! my fine fellow,' the sowldier calls out to him; 'are you looking for work?' 'Yes,' Jack tells him. 'My mother,' he says, 'has kept me in bed for twenty-one years, an' now I wants to earn a bit o' money to keep her.' 'Well, what can you do?' the sowldier axes him. 'Oh! annythink,' says Jack, 'as I knows how to.' 'Will you 'list?' says the sowldier. 'Yes,' says Jack. So Jack 'lists, an' they puts him in a cavalry rigiment.

Now it wa'n't above a month a'ter Jack had 'listed but what a big war breaks out, an' of course he is sent to the front. Soon he's right in the thick 'n it. He shoots down scoares an' scoares 'n the enemy till his ammonition is all used up, an' then he lays about him wid the butt end 'n his rifle, an' kills scoares and scoares

more that way. At last poor Jack's horse was shot down from under him. But that wa'n't the end—oh! no. What does he do but catch howld 'n his horse by the tail, an' walk right into the middle 'n the enemy, swinging it round an' round his head, an' i' that way he wiped out 'most all the lot 'n the tother side.

Now a'ter when the war is over, an' Jack comes back home agen, the king gi'es him his own da'ghter' for winning the battle for him. So Jack gets married to her, an' they goes to live in a grand palace, an' they lives happy together ever a'ter.

5. JACK AND THE BEANSTALK

From Noah Lock

The' was wonst an owld woman, an' she had only but one son, an' his name agen was Jack. Now one day Jack says to his mother: 'Gi'e me a cake an' a blessing, muther, an' then I'll go an' look for some work.' So she gi'es him a cake an' a blessing, an' off he sets.

Afoare long he meets wid a farmer. 'Can you do anny work?' the farmer axes him. 'Yes,' says Jack, 'I can do annythink as another man can.' 'Can you plough?' the farmer axes. 'Yes,' says Jack, 'I can plough as well as anny other man can.' 'Can you plough straight?' the farmer then axes. 'Yes,' says Jack, 'I can plough through the eye 'n a needle.' 'But that's anpossible,' says the farmer, 'for you couldn't never get the horses through.' 'Not it,' says Jack; 'it's quite azy. Anyhows I can do it.'

Whatever to you, the farmer takes Jack along wid him to his house, an' gi'es him somethink to eat and somethink to drink, an' a'ter when he's filled his belly the farmer takes him to a great big field. Now in the middle 'n this field the's a tree growing. 'Do you see that tree?' says the farmer. 'Yes,' says Jack. 'Well then,' says the farmer, 'I wants you to plough straight up to it, as straight as ever you can.' 'Right,' says Jack. 'An' shall I plough the tree up, master?' 'No,' says the farmer, 'you're to leave it a-be, only plough straight up to it.' 'But I could azy plough it up,' says Jack. 'Leave it a-be,' says the farmer, 'an' do just what I towld you to, no moare, an' no less. I shall be back just now,' he says, 'to see how you're going on. Now mind what I towld you.' Wid that he leaves Jack to his work.

Whatsumever, as soon as ever he is gone Jack gets howld 'n

the plough—a double horse plough it was—an' takes the reins in his hands, an' ploughs straight as a die to'ards the tree. When he gets there, instead o' stopping, the one horse goes on the one side 'n the tree, an' the tother horse on the tother side, an' Jack he drives the plough straight through the middle 'n it, an' splits it into two halves, an' the two halves falls down, one on each side 'n the plough. Still Jack goes on, till he gets to the end 'n the field, an' then he looks back to see if his furrow is straight. 'Yes,' he says to hisself, 'I think that's pretty straight.' Then he turns the horses round, an' he ploughs back down the one side an' up the tother, an' agen down the one an' up the tother, a great many times. An' each time he comes to the end 'n his furrow he looks back an' he says to hisself, 'Yes, I think that's pretty straight.' By this time the tree is nigh buried in the soil he has turned over wid his plough.

Presently the farmer comes back to see how he's a-getting on, an' when he sees what Jack has been and done: 'Jack,' he says, 'this won't do at all.' 'For why, master?' Jack axes him. 'It's straight enough, isn't it?' 'Yes,' says the farmer, 'it's straight enough, but you ha'n't done as you was towld to, an' for that,' he says, 'I must remiss you from my sarvice.' 'Oh! all right, then,' says Jack, an' he throws down the reins, an' leaves the horses standing, an' off he goes back home agen.

So whatever to you, a'ter when Jack had been at home a bit he agen axes his mother: 'G'ie me a cake an' a blessing, muther.' So she gi'es him another cake an' another blessing. 'Oh! muther,' says Jack, 'I'm tired o' looking for work, an' I'm not a-going to look for no moare. Instead,' he says, 'I shall go to the fair an' sell the cow.' 'Well, mind an' you gets a good price for it, Jack,' she says, 'for it costed me a lot o' money.' 'Never bother your head about that, muther,' he says, 'for I shall.'

So Jack now goes off to the fair wid the cow. Whatsumever, afoare he gets there he meets wid a farmer. 'How much will you take for the cow?' the farmer axes him. 'Fifteen pounds,' says Jack. 'That's over much by far,' says the farmer, 'but I'll tell you what I'll do, I'll gi'e you all the money what I now got in my hand.' 'How much might that be?' Jack axes him. 'Nay I mus'n't tell you that,' says the farmer. 'Then I won't take it,' says Jack. 'Well then,' says the farmer, 'how would it be if I was to gi'e you fifteen bayns [beans]?' 'That would be grand,' says Jack, 'for they'd do better for we nor what fifteen sovereigns would. We got a bit o' garden, you know, an' we should soon have a

won'erful lot 'n they.' So Jack sowld him the cow for fifteen bayns, an' as he was walking back home agen he did feel pleased wid hisself at the bargain he 'd made.

His owld mother is standing by the doar looking out for him, an' she is relighted when she sees him coming along the road, an' wi'out the cow as well. 'You're a good son to me, Jack,' she says, as soon as he gets up to the house. 'An' how much did you get for the cow?' 'Fifteen bayns,' Jack tells her. 'W-h-a-t!!!' she says, an' you could ha' knocked her over wid a feather. 'Oh! Jack! however could you part wid the cow for a few bayns?'

Well, muther,' he says, 'they'll do us moare good nor what fifteen sovereigns would.' 'Oh! very well then, Jack,' she says, 'if you think they'll be moare to our revancement, but——' 'Come on, muther,' he says; 'don't let's waste not a minute talking; let's go into the garden an' get 'em planted at wonst, an' then, muther,' he says, 'we shall soon have a won'erful lot 'n they.' So they goes an' they plants the bayns, an' soon they has sich a crop as had never been seen afoare. An' the bayns they growed that high, till you couldn't see up to the top 'n they: they was lost in the skies.

Whatsumever to you, Jack thinks to hisself one day as he'd like to climb to the top 'n one 'n the bayns to see what the' is up there. So he takes off his shoes an' stockings, an' ties his hankecher round his middle, an' then he climbs, an' he climbs, an' he climbs till at last he comes into another country, an' finds hisself in a big room filled full o' all manner o' gowld an' silver things. He looks about a bit till he comes across a beautiful crown, what he takes wid him, an' climbs down the baynstalk agen to his mother. An' he gi'es her this crown. 'Why, whatever's this you've fatched me, Jack?' she axes him. 'It's summat ta ga on yer yed, muther,' he says. 'Just try it on, muther, to see how it suits ya.'¹ So she puts the crown on, the owld woman does. 'Ay my! muther,' says Jack, 'but ya leuks like the queen.'

Well, even now Jack's not satisfied. 'I'm a-going back agen, muther,' he says, 'for I think I can get somethink moare, an' far betterer nor what I've fatched you.' So back he goes up the baynstalk, an' this time, when he gets to the place where the treasure is, he has a rale proper good look round. He finds watches an' chains, an' rings, an' seals, an' all manner o' jew'l'ry.

¹ At this stage Jack ought to break into broad Gloucestershire dialect, according to Noah, but whether he does or not I cannot say.

The watches an' chains he ties roun' his middle, an' then he fas'ens up the bottoms 'n his trousers, an' drops the tother things down inside 'em, till at last he can't carry no moare, when he begins to climb down the baynstalk agen.

Whatever to you, he hadn't got no moare nor half-way down when he sees an owld man—no, it was an owld woman—coming a'ter him. This owld woman had been in the room wid him all the time, unbeknown to Jack, an' had seen him taking the things. 'Muther,' he shouts, 'be quick an' come an' take these things off 'n me what I got.' At this she comes running into the garden, his mother does, an' Jack throws the things down to her as fast as ever he can. Then a'ter when he has got rid 'n the last one, he climbs down to the ground, an' takes an axe, an' chops clean through the baynstalk. Down it tum'les wid a t'emendous crash, an' the owld woman wid it. Her neck is broke, an' she dies. An' so Jack is the end 'n her.

6. CLEVER PAT

From Noah Lock

The' was wonst a big lord—a king he was in fact—what put a 'vartisement into the papers, saying as how he was in want of a man, an' this man he was to be a 'spicially good driver. Now this king he had a very crooked road, an' it was very narrow as well this road was, an' falled away right steep on both sides: he'd had it made this way on parpose. Whatever to you, an Englishman an' an Irishman replies for the job. An' first the Englishman comes. 'Can you drive?' the king axes him. 'Yes, sir,' he says, 'I think I can drive pretty well.' 'That won't do,' says the king; 'you must know.' Whatsumever, he gi'es him a carriage an' pair, an' tells him to drive along this crooked road 'n his. He starts off, the Englishman does, driving very careful—he was a good stidy driver, mind, an' knowed how to handle a pair o' horses—but he hadn't gone far afoare he has the carriage over, an' it an' the horses an' all goes rowling down the bank by the side 'n the road. Then the Irishman comes. 'Can you drive?' the king axes him. 'Yes, yer honour,' says Pat, 'I can drive on the top 'n a needle as straight as a pin.' So the king sets him the same to do as the Englishman had failed at. Now Pat he starts off full gallop, an' he does it as azy as winking. 'That's very good,' says the king, 'an' you're a won'erful clever fellow.'

'Now what else is the' you can do?' he axes Pat. 'Oh!' says Pat, 'I can do annythink in the world, yer honour.' 'Well then,' says the king, 'go an' count all my cattle an' sheep.' 'Right ye are, yer honour,' says Pat, an' away he goes. Now a'ter a bit he comes back wid the number, and tells it to the king. 'The's sich-an-sich a number, yer honour,' he says. 'No,' says the king, 'that won't do at all: it's ten behind.' 'Shure, yer honour,' says Pat, an' why not ten in front?' 'You don't take my meaning,' says the king. 'It's ten too few.' 'Oh! now I see, yer honour,' says Pat, 'I ha'n't fun' 'em all.' 'That's it,' says the king. 'But have you looked,' he axes, 'in that little wood over yonder? They sometimes gets there—leastways the cattle does—for sake 'n the flies.' Pat hadn't looked there, so away he goes, an' he hunts about, an' he hunts about, till he finds all save one. Presently he comes back, an' he tells the king as he's now fun' all the tothers saving one. 'That won't do,' says the king, 'not yet: you must find the one what is missing.'

Now Pat was just going off agen when the king calls him back. 'Pat,' he says, 'to-night I'm to hold a grand ball, at nine o'clock,' he says, 'an' I wants you to come an' throw eyes at me, so as to gi'e me a bit of ancouragement like when I'm dancing wid the ladies.' 'Very good, yer honour,' says Pat, 'I shall be there.' 'An' now, Pat,' says the king, 'you must come an' have somethink to eat an' drink,' an' he takes Pat an' gi'es him vittles an' drink, plenty an' to spare. Now a'ter when he has had a bellyful, what does Pat do but he goes an' cuts the eyes out 'n all the king's cattle an' sheep, an' stuffs his pockets cram full o' these eyes till they're bulging out, an' won't hold not another one.

So whatever to you, just afoare nine o'clock Pat goes into the ballroom wid these eyes in his pocket, an' as soon as ever the king catches sight 'n him he nods an' winks to Pat, an' Pat nods an' winks back at him. Then he comes over to where Pat is stood, the king does, an' 'minds him what he's got to do. 'You'll be sure,' he says, 'an' throw eyes at me every time as I comes past wid a lady.' 'You can trust me for that, yer honour,' Pat tells him.

It wa'n't long now afoare the musicianers starts playing, an' the dancing begins. The king comes round tripping it wid some grand lady, an' as he passes close by to Pat, Pat puts his hand in his pocket, an' pulls out an eye, an' throws it at him. An' the king he winks an' smiles at Pat very pleased-like, an' Pat he winks an' smiles back at the king. Now a'ter this the same thing

happens every time as the king comes round, till Pat he ha'n't not a single eye left; an' the floar got that slippy wid all the eyes Pat had throwed 'at the dancers started tum'ling down. Now a'ter when the ball is over, an' all the guests is gone, the king he comes to Pat. 'Pat,' he says, 'that was very nice indeed: you throwed eyes at me ancommon well.' 'Yes, yer honour,' says Pat, 'your own sheep's an' cattle's.' But the king he didn't take his meaning a bit, though he thought it a very funny saying.

Whatsumever to you, next morning the king sends for Pat agen. 'Pat,' he says, 'if you can bring all my cattle an' sheep together into the yard here an' count 'em back'ards, then,' he says, 'you shall have my da'ghter.' So Pat goes, an' he gathers all the king's cattle an' sheep together into the yard, an' begins counting 'em back'ards. An' the king he comes out to inspect 'em. First of all he goes to his prize bull. 'O—h!!!' he says as soon as ever he sets eyes on it. 'Whatever is up? Here's my prize bull wid its two eyes cut out!' Then he goes an' he looks at all the tothers, an' he finds ne'er a one 'n they but what has its two eyes cut out. An' he calls for Pat to come. 'However can sich a thing have happened, Pat?' he axes. 'I've never heeard in all my life of annythink like it.' 'Well, yer honour,' says Pat, 'if you mind it rightly you towld me to throw eyes at you at the ball last night.' 'Yes,' says the king, 'I did.' 'An' shure, yer honour,' says Pat, 'wherever should I get so many eyes 'cepting from your own cattle an' sheep.' 'You fool,' says the king, 'what I meant for you to do was to wink an' smile at me an' that. But now,' he says, 'for this thing what you done—blinded all my cattle an' sheep—you shall be 'headed.'

So whatever to you, it wa'n't so very long afoare the king sent for Pat agen. 'Pat,' he says, 'I'm now going to gi'e you one moare chance; I'm going to set you,' he says, 'one moare thing to do, an' if you comes through all right, then I sha'n't have you 'headed, an' you shall marry my da'ghter just the same; but if you don't,' he says, 'then for cartain sure you shall be 'headed.' 'Yer honour is very good to me,' says Pat. 'An' now what is it yer honour would set me to do?' 'Well,' says the king, 'I got five pigeons, an' the task you must reform is to catch these pigeons—all the five 'n they, mind—an' a'ter when you caught 'em you got to bring 'em an' show 'em to me.' An' he axed Pat if he un'erstood his meaning this time, an' Pat said as he did. Now these here five pigeons was his five da'ghters what had been 'chanted.

Well, the first thing Pat does is to fill his pockets full wid corn, an' then he goes into the barn, an' he throws down a few grains near by to the doar. Two 'n the pigeons comes an' eats this, so Pat throws 'em a bit moare farther in, an' then a bit moare farther in agen, till he 'tices 'em right in. Then he does the same by the tother three, an' all the while he keeps throwing a bit o' corn to the ones as he's got in, till at last he has all the five 'n they inside the barn. Still he goes on feeding 'em, a bit at a time, an' then a bit moare, an' wid every lot he throws down he creeps a bit nearer to the doar, till in the end he has 'em safe shut in. Then he catches the five pigeons, an' puts 'em in a basket, an' off he goes wid 'em to the king. An' he is pleased wid hisself for sure.

The king is standing in his big hall wid his sword in his hand ready to 'head Pat. 'Well, Pat,' he says, 'have you caught 'em?' 'Yes, yer honour,' says Pat. 'But have you caught all the five 'n they,' the king axes. 'Yes, yer honour,' says Pat. 'I got the lot here in this basket.' 'Well, open it, then,' the king tells him, 'an' let me see for myself.' So Pat opens the basket, an' the pigeons flies out. The king counts 'em. 'The's only but four here, Pat,' he says. 'Faith, yer honour,' says Pat, 'I caught all the five 'n they.' 'That don't signify,' says the king; 'you've only fatched me four. You must go an' fatch me the tother one,' he says, 'or I shall 'head you.

Now Pat, he wa'n't telling no lies: he had caught all the five 'n they right enough; but one 'n the king's da'ghters had fell in love wid him, see? an' she was that shy 'n him 'at somehow or another she'd got away from him agen a'ter when he'd put her in the basket.

Whatever to you, Pat now goes to catch this one pigeon what was missing, an' he tries an' he tries for two or three days till at last he gets it. Then he takes it to the king, an' the king he's very pleased, an' says as he shall make a big feast in honour 'n the 'casion.

Now a'ter when the king has gone out 'n the room, this pigeon it flies an' parches itself on the throne, and when Pat looks what does he see sitting there but the most beautiful lady you ever set eyes on, all dressed in fine clothes an' jewels, an' wid a gowlden crown on her head. An' she speaks to Pat. 'Pat,' she says, 'you're the luckiest man in the world, for I fell in love wid you as soon as ever I set eyes on you.'

Well, soon a'ter that Pat was married to the king's da'ghter,

an' the owld king he gi'ed up his palace an' all his lands to Pat an' his da'ghter, an' they lived happy there in the palace ever a'ter.

7. THE CAVE AT RHYDWEN

From Noah Lock

The' was owld Ben Wood¹ wonst, a few years back now, an' his brother Godfrey,² they'd been playing their harps in the bits o' villiages all day, an' the people had gi'ed 'em so much 'at they'd got drunk. They didn't know nowheres to go to get a night's lodging, so when it was beginning to get dark they took their instruments, an' climbed up to the top 'n a big hill by the sea, an' there they lud theirsels down, an' soon fell fast asleep. It was at a place called Rhydwen, about seven or eight miles the tother [north] side 'n Valley.³ The top 'n this hill was flat, an' nigh as smooth as a lawn; an' the way they come up it was azy enough, for it wa'n't a very bad slope, but the tother side, facing the sea, it was a steep cliff, a'most as straight up as a wall. An' that was where they slept that night, on this hill at Rhydwen.

So whatever to you, when they waked up next morning, what should they see on the grass, not far away from where they was laying, but a row o' dear little white stones, as white as milk they was. They hadn't noticed nothink there the night afoare, an' they couldn't think whatever they was for. It was only but nat'ral they should be a bit curious-like, so they crept a bit nearer, an' a bit nearer, till they f'un' out as they was all moving, the little white stones was, rowling on an' on to'ards the top 'n the cliff. This was a very funny thing they thought, so they followed on the same way as the stones was going, till they come to the edge 'n the cliff, and what should they find there but some little steps, beautiful little steps they was, all cut out 'n the rock, an' down these steps the stones was going rowling on. So they followed on agen, an' at the bottom 'n the steps what should they come to but the mouth 'n a cave, an' at the mouth 'n this cave the' was a deep well to cross afoare you could get right proper into the inside 'n it.

¹ According to Noah, Ben Wood lived for many years during the latter part of his life at Llanerchymedd in Anglesey.

² Godfrey does not appear in Dr. Sampson's pedigree of Matthew Wood (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. ii. pp. 370-1) as the forename of any member of the Wood family. Here Ben Wood's brothers are given as Henry and Edmund.

³ Noah's geography is correct.

Whatsunever, they stepped across this well, an' as they was doing so they took pertic'lar note as the' wa'n't but very little water in it; an' they went right inside the cave. They come now to three roads, an' they wondered to theirsels which 'n these roads it would be the best for they to take. Whatever to you, a'ter a bit they started off down one 'n these roads, but they hadn't gone not so very far but what they turned back agen; they was frightened o' losing theirsels, for the road it was very bad to find. They come out 'n the cave agen, an' this time as they stepped across the well they seen as it was very nigh full o' water.

Whatsunever to you, sometime a'ter this had happened owld Ben met wid a farmer, what lives near by to this place Rhydwen, an' he towld him, owld Ben did, all about what had happened to him an' his brother. 'Yes,' says this here farmer, 'the' is one road what is a nice, broad, smooth, azy road; an' the' is one what if you follows it you can't never come back agen; an' the' is one what when you comes to the end 'n it the' is a big horde o' gowld an' silver.'

Owld Ben towld me this hisself, an' as true as I'm here I believe it's right. Aye, I do.

8. THE SEVEN MYSTERIES OF THE LUCK

From Jonathan Ayres

An old woman and two sons and an Irishman had a farm which could not keep them as the land was poor, so they had ate up all nearly except some arrowroot. And Tom says: 'Give me some arrowroot and I'll go and seek my fortune; it's easier to scheme a fortune than work for one.' So the old mother give Tom the piece of root, and off he goes sucking at this root.

He walks and walks for about three days, and he comes to a man sitting on a tree stump and holding a horse. And he says to Tom, 'I'm hungry,' and asks for a bit or arrowroot that Tom was still sucking at. So Tom says: 'This arrowroot you can help your strength up with for ever, and if you'll swap me for the horse we'll do a deal.' So they swaps, but Tom did not give him all the root; he slyly broke him a piece off in the bend of his arm at the elbow.

And this horse he got was a notive [noted] horse, which when

you turned her head to the sun and said, 'Lion, *hind*¹ suver-eigns,' it did so, about a bushel.

So Tom takes the horse and goes back to an inn, where they had before refused him a drink, as he had had no money. But before he goes there he had tried the horse, and said, 'Lion, *hind* suver-eigns,' and it did a lot; but Tom thinks: 'Well, I'll not want to carry these, as I can get plenty more,' so he shoves them in a bush. So on he goes to the inn, and asks for a meal and bed, and that the horse should be well looked after, as it was a valuable mystery horse. And he showed the people how it *hind* suver-eigns, and treated all the people there to all they could eat and drink before he went to bed. So the woman who kept the inn said to her husband, 'We must have that horse'; and they stole it, and put another in its place.

So Tom gets up in the morning, and pays his bill with what was left from the night before, and gets home and tells his mother all about the mystery horse. And his mother was so pleased she calls his brother and the Irishman to see the fortune they were going to get. And out in the yard they leads the horse, and Tom says, 'Lion, *hind* suver-eigns,' but nothing came, so he gave it a hiding, but 'twas no good. So Tom said: 'Never mind, mother, it will do to plough the garden. But it's a mystery he won't do it now.'

So Bill says: 'Mother, give me a bit of root, and I'll go and seek my fortune; it's no use all of us stopping here and starving.' So he gets a bit of root, and he walks and walks, till long and by last he comes to where Tom had met the man with the horse. And here he sees a man with a table on his head, and the man says, 'What yous ating?' Bill says: 'It's a piece or arrowroot, and you can go for ever nibbling at it.' So the man says: 'I'm hungry and tired, and I'll swap you for this table.' 'Well, what's the table good for?' says Bill. So the man says: 'I'll show you. All you have to do when you are hungry is to sit down and say 'Table spread,' and all manners of good food will come, and drink.' So Bill thinks: 'Our fortune's come now. I'll have it, and go home, and we'll keep a refreshment house, and the table will find all the food.' So they swaps, and arter a bit, the table being a bit heavy, he puts it down, and sits down to it and says 'Table spread,' and all manners of food and drink came on, and he had what he wanted.

¹ I have substituted the Romani word, in the form in which it is used by Jonathan Ayres, for its vulgar English equivalent.

So he went on, and he met two men who were hungry, and Bill says: 'Wait a bit and I'll get you a feed'; and they had a good feed and plenty of drink. And the three goes, and they came to an inn where they could get drink, but no food. So Bill says: 'Never mind; I've a table here will get us all we want.' And this inn was where Tom was robbed of his horse, and the woman there stole his table, and puts another like it in its place.

Bill takes it home, and says: 'Mother, we've our fortunes made now.' And they was all hungry, and Bill says: 'Come on, and have just what you has a mind to.' And he puts the table down, and they all sits round, and Bill shouts out 'Table spread,' but nothing came, and nothing could they get. And Bill says: 'Well, it's a mystery; but never mind, mother, it'll do to put a few cups and saucers on.'

Well now they did not know hardly what to do, as the farm would not keep the lot of them, so they talks it over, and the Irishman at last says: 'Well, give me the last bit of root, and I'll try my best.' And the old woman says: 'Well, I don't think it's much use, as British is more keen nor Irish; but anyhow, have it and go.' And the Irishman's boots had got bad with digging the land, so the old woman says: 'Take my old boots, as they are better than yours.' And the Irishman puts the boots under his arm, and sets off, nibbling at his bit of arrowroot.

And after three days he comes to where Tom met the horse and Bill the table, and there was a man sitting there with a pair of clogs on, and he says to the Irishman, 'What you's ating?' Irish says: 'It's a bit of root, which, so long as you sucks at, you can walk for ever on.' And the man says: 'Swap me the root for the clogs.' 'Well, what's the clogs good for?' says the Irishman. 'Well,' says the man, 'these clogs will dance, or kick, or walk, just as you ask them, and you won't need to use your legs at all: the clogs will do the lot.' So he swaps, and puts the clogs on, and says, 'Clogs dance,' and the clogs danced; and then he says, 'Clogs kick,' and they kicked till he could hardly stand on his feet; and then he remembered to say, 'Clogs walk,' and they walked up hill and down.

And long and by last he comes to an inn, the same inn where Tom and Bill had been robbed. And he shows the people there what the clogs could do, and the woman wanted to steal the clogs, so she persuaded the Irishman to stay the night. Well, he stayed there, and in the night she stole the clogs and put them under

her bed. And later on her husband came home, and she started telling him about the mysterious clogs, and she happened to say 'Clogs kick,' and the clogs up and kicked her and her husband till they shouted for help. And the Irishman had thought there was something wrong, and he says: 'Give me a horse and a table what you stole, and I'll stop them kicking.' And he got them, and he stopped the clogs.

Off he goes home with clogs, horse, and table, and tells them how it had all happened. And then Tom says, 'That's my horse'; and Bill says, 'That's my table'; and the Irishman says, 'Clogs kick,' and the clogs kicked Bill and Tom till they said they would let the Irishman have the lot. But later on the Irishman, being good-hearted, gave up the lot to the old woman. And Tom he had also found the first pile of sovereigns that Lion had done, and brought them. And the old woman said: 'Well, it's a fair mystery how you come to do it so well.'

Arter a while Bill and the Irishman goes to seek further fortunes together, and they comes to a seaport town, and walks down the docks. And they says as whoever first sees a sign asking for a man was to have the first chance for it. And walking all the dock wall they sees a sign on a ship, and Bill sees it first, and trying to get on the ship he falls in the water. And he calls out to the Irishman: 'Send us a line.'¹ The Irishman says: 'It will be a mystery if you wants a line where you are going,' and Bill drowns.

9. APPY BOSWELL'S MONKEY

From Noah Lock

Appy had a monkey, which he'd kept for ten years, an' fed on the best o' everythink, an' done well by in every way. Now this monkey it never would once talk wid him, nor answer his questions, nor even yet as much as say 'Thank you' when he gi'ed it its vittles.

Whatever to you, one day when Appy had sat hisself down by the side 'n a brick-kiln, the monkey being wid him, a thought come to him about it defusing to speak wid him. 'Well,' he says to hisself, 'come what will I'll make the beggar talk.' So over he goes to the kiln, an' there he finds an oven what is empty, but red

¹ Rope to save him.

scorching hot. Now what does he do but he takes the monkey, an' puts it inside this oven, an' claps a sheet o' iron over the mouth 'n it so as it can't get out. Whatsumever, a'ter about five or ten minutes o' this the monkey begins squealing. 'No mortal man could stand this,' it calls out to Appy, 'so for why should you expect me to? Anlease me, or I shall die.' At this Appy opens the doar. 'Will you promise as you'll talk wid me for the future,' he axes it, 'an' answer my questions?' 'Yes, I'll promise,' the monkey answers, an' so Appy lets it come out agen now.

So whatever to you, when Appy got home that night he says to his wife: 'Anis,' he says, 'the monkey spoke well wid me to-day, an' so now,' he says, 'I'm a-going to treat him well.' He goes an' he makes it a big bowl full of eatables—the best what he had—an' sets this afoare it. Then a'ter when it has eaten its fill he axes it, 'Have you enjoyed your vittles?' but it doesn't answer him not a word; it only nods its head. Then he axes it: 'Have you had a bellyful?' but agen it won't answer him not a word. 'Oh! very well then,' says Appy; 'you won't answer me, won't you? Then I shall take you back to that place agen.' Now the monkey, as soon as ever it heears this, it comes for'ard, an' it puts out its hand, an' it strokes Appy on his cheek. 'I'll answer you annythink,' it says, 'if only you'll not take me back there agen.'

That's Appy an' his monkey, but the's a lot moare 'n it; I've forgot three parts 'n the tale.

10. APPY BOSWELL'S MONKEY. *Another Tale*

From Taimi Boswell

Appy had a monkey. Oftentimes he'd miss dis monkey, an' won'er wherever it could ha' got to. An' he'd go looking for it all about de place. Den it would call out to him from some tree: 'My Appy, what is you a-looking for? I'm here, Appy, gethering a few sticks to boil de kettle.'

11. APPY BOSWELL'S GRINDING BARROW—*A variant*

From Noah Lock

Wonst, but only but wonst in my life I seen Appy. The' was me an' Harry [his brother Harry or Zachariah] together; I'd be a young man at the time, an' Harry nothink moare nor a big lump

'n a lad. Whatsumever, this Appy come up to we. 'Well, how are you, my lads?' he axes. 'Oh! we're very well, thank you, uncle,' we answers; 'an' how's yourself?' 'Middling,' he says, 'middling. An' now, my lads,' he says to we, 'have you got anny-think I could have a bit o' trade wid you for? I got twelve or thirteen horses,' he says, 'in a field what I've took off 'n a farmer.' 'Oh! aye,' we says, for we knowed as he was making hisself, being as he never had the price 'n a dog, Appy didn't. 'Well, uncle,' we says, making oursel's a bit, for we hadn't nothink neither, 'cept our fiddles, 'we got two or three horses, so happen we could have a bit o' swap. Come on,' we says, 'let's go an' have a look at your horses the first.'

'Oh!' he says, Appy does, all at wonst like, 'the sun do hurt my eyes that bad.' 'How's that, uncle?' we axes. 'Well,' he says, 'it's all along o' my grinding barrow; the 'flection 'n the sun on it has come nigh to blinding me.' 'It's very queer, uncle,' we says, 'as wood should hurt your eyes that way.' 'Ah, but, my lads,' he says, 'my barrow's all made o' Garman silver, you see, every bit 'n it.' Then off he goes.

Whatever to you, Appy comes back agen to we that self-same day. 'I've now got shot 'n my barrow,' he says. 'Oh! aye, uncle,' we says; 'an' what have you done wid it? Did you sell it well?' 'No,' he says, 'I've cut it up an' made tent rods on it, for I thought,' he says, 'as it wouldn't never hurt my eyes no moare if it was covered over wid my bits o' blankets an' things.'

12. HOW APPY BOSWELL'S GRINDING BARROW WAS SOLD TWICE OVER

From Taimi Boswell

You'll ha' heard 'n Appy's German silver grinding barrow I da'say: it used to be all de talk one time o' day. Well, de owld sod once sellt it to my father, 's true as God he did.

He cam over to see my daddy one day, an' they got on a-talking an' a-talking, an' my daddy exed him about dis won'erful German silver grinding barrow o' hisn. 'Well,' says Appy, 'to tell you de God's truth, brother, I'm a-wanting to sell it, if I could only light on a buyer.' So my daddy says: 'An' how much are you exing for it, brother?' 'Fifty shillings.' It was dirt cheap at de money, so my daddy struck up a bargain wid him dere an' den. 'Now,'

he says—dat's my daddy, 'ha' you got de barrow wid you?' 'No, brother,' says Appy, 'I ha'n't; I got it left at de farm where we's a-stopping at, an' dat'll be thirty miles from here, God blind me if it's a step less.' 'An' you got all dat way to go back agen?' my daddy exes. 'You'll be taking de train den?' 'No,' says Appy, 'it'll ha' to be Shanks's pony all de blessed way, brother.' 'Well, ha'n't you got no money den?' my daddy exes. 'Not a farding piece, brother,' he says, 'an' it'll be God help me if I can't beg vittles an' drink on de road.' Well, to cut it short, my daddy gi'es him de loan 'n ten shillings on de barrow; an' tells him he'll get de barrow in a day or two, as he's a-coming dat way soon.

In about de better part 'n week we got to dis place where Appy was a-stopping at, an my daddy exed him for de barrow; but Appy tellt him he was very sorry but he couldn't let him have it, not now. 'Oh,' says my daddy, 'an' for why? a bargain's a bargain ain't it?' 'Yes,' says Appy, 'but it's dis way, brother. Time's I was away over to your place de monkey gone an' sellt it, s'true as my poor dead grandfather he did, brother.' 'Oh!' says my daddy; 'an' can't you get it back agen? Don't you know de man de monkey sellt it to, an' can't you make him 'liver it up agen?' 'Tain't possible,' says Appy. 'De monkey says he can't swear to de man agen.' 'Well, didn't you get de money for it?' my daddy exes: he was thinking of his ten shillings. 'De monkey did,' says Appy, 'but he got drinking an' dat on de way back, till by de time he got to de place agen he hadn't not a farding piece 'n it left. S'help me God he hadn't, brother, an' I did give him a scowlding about it, but it wa'n't no use, for de money was all gone.'

So my daddy niver got de barrow a'ter all, an' he niver had the sight 'n his half-sovereign agen, no, not as long as he lived.

13. APPY BOSWELL'S DOG: *Variants*

(a.) *From Noah Lock*

Noah's version of this tale is in essentials identical with that given by Groome.

(b.) *From Gus Gray*

Appy had a dog, and one day, when he was out with this dog it started running a hare. They run through a meadow where some farm men had been cutting the grass—the second crop o' clover it was—and careless-like one of 'em had thrown down his

scythe in the place where he'd left off working. Just then a second hare got up. Now what did the dog do but run slap into the scythe and cut itself clean in two, from the tip of its nose to the tip of its tail. And the two halves o' the dog run the two hares, and caught 'em, and brought 'em to Appy. Then the two halves clapped theirsels together agen.

When he got back to the place what do you think Appy did? He took his gun and shot the dog, so as nobody should ever have such a marvellous dog as he'd had. He must ha' thought to hisself as he'd lose the dog, or have it stole from him, or be persuaded to sell it, or swop it, or summat o' the kind. He didn't want the dog to pass out of his hands into somebody else's you see.

Then he made hisself a pair o' leggings of the skin, and once a year, on the anniversary of this day, his leggings jumped off and barked at him, and jumped on agen.

(c.) *From Oscar Boswell*

Appy had a pair o' leggings, and every time he saw a hare his leggings jumped off and barked. He'd made 'em out 'n a dog's skin.

(d.) *From Ernest Smith*

Ernest's version is closely similar to Groome's, the only difference being at the end. Appy had a hole in each knee of his breeches, and mended *both* with pieces of the dog's skin. 'And would you believe it, whenever I looked over a gate after that, and saw a rabbit, my *broges* began to bark, wanting to go after it.'

(e.) *From Jonathan Ayres*

Jonathan's version differs from Groome's in the ending only. 'Appy had the skin made into a pair o' leggings, and one day they come unbuttoned, and ran arter a rabbit.'

(f.)

Some of the Johns family know this tale, but attribute it, not to Appy Boswell, but to Aaron Bland of Headington, near Oxford.

(g.)

A party of Kentish Lees who visited Oxford during the winter of 1913-14, told the following tale of Oliver Lee of Kent. (Outline). Oliver had a waistcoat made of dogskin, and once the two sides of it ran after two hares, and caught them.

14. APPY BOSWELL'S DONKEY : *Variants**(a.) From Noah Lock*

Appy had a donkey. Now one day when he'd come to a nice stopping place as he knowed on, an' had just finished putting up his bit o' tent, what should happen but sticks started falling down out'n a big tree the' was, right to his feet, all ready for him to make the fire wid. So he looked up in the tree, an' there he seen the donkey. 'What you doing up there?' he axes it. 'Gathering sticks,' it tells him, 'to boil the kettle wid agen Anis comes home.' Then Appy picks up a stone to throw at it, but the donkey says : 'Don't throw no stones, my Appy ; I'll come down agen.' An' it did.

(b.) From Ernest Smith

(Outline). Happy was camping on a common (? Greaseley Common). He did not notice the absence of the donkey till he got up in the morning. He looked everywhere for it, and tramped all over the country, and wore out twenty pairs of clogs. Then he came back to the same common. He was sitting beside the fire smoking. He said to himself : 'Wherever can that donkey o' mine be?' He then looked up into a tree, and there was the donkey smiling at him.

15. APPY BOSWELL'S DONKEY : *Another tale**From Noah Lock*

This donkey o' Appy's sometimes, when he'd be going along the road wid it, it would lie down on the packs, an' wouldn't go not a step farther. An' Appy would kick it to make it get up an' go on, but he'd find he wa'n't kicking nothing at all only but the packs.

16. WHAT HAPPENED TO APPY BOSWELL
IN A PUBLIC-HOUSE*From Noah Lock*

One day, as Appy was sitting in a public-house, he fell fast asleep. The' was some moare men in this public, an' what should they do when they seen Appy asleep but lather the top 'n his head an' his beard all over wid soap. Now the landlord at this public, he was an owld white-headed man, an' he had a white beard an' all. So whatever to you, when Appy waked up, he couldn't make

it out; he thought somethink was the matter, so he went an' looked at hisself in the glass. 'Dear God!' he says as soon as he seen hisself. 'Who be I? Be I the landlord?' He really believed for the minute as he'd been changed into the landlord.

An' the's a lot moare, only but I've forgot it.

17. APPY BOSWELL AND THE CONGER EEL

From Taimi Boswell

Appy was fishing one day when he caught a grêat big conger eel. And it up an' run him across two fields. 'Aye s'help me God,' he says, 'it up an' run me across two fields.'

REVIEW

The Gypsy's Parson: his Experiences and Adventures. By the Rev. GEORGE HALL. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., 1915. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

TO contrast dissimilar things is far from being a useless exercise, for it often leads to a better understanding and clearer expression of what is most characteristic of each. All the time that I was reading *The Gypsy's Parson*, I could not help contrasting it with a book which I had just laid down (gladly enough), a book on a kindred subject, and one which, like Mr. Hall's, was intended for the general reader. It was an account of the native races of Australia written by a well-known anthropologist, who, for purpose of reference, may be called Mr. X. Let there be no doubt about it, Mr. X's was a very skilful piece of work; comprehensive, compact, well balanced, carefully arranged, meticulously accurate as to detail, admirably precise and lucid in diction; it was, in fact, an almost perfect digest in non-technical language of the researches of anthropologists, and the random jottings of settlers and travellers. But from the point of view of the plain man, for whose benefit it had been written, it had one damning fault—it was inhumanly, or rather should I say a-humanly, scientific; narrowly and rigidly scientific as regards the choice of material for inclusion, coldly and drably scientific in the manner of presenting it, pedantically scientific in its finicking precision about points which were of no general interest, tediously scientific in its lucid descriptions of

material objects whose form and use the eye can take in at a glance but words cannot conjure up, and a-humanly scientific in that it was lacking altogether in all those qualities which, for better or for worse, are dear to the human heart the world over. It was, in short, a typical product, not of the man of science, but of the purely scientific type of mind; it had all its strength and all its weakness; and as the ordinary man is incapable of appreciating the one and unwilling to condone the other, it may safely be predicted either that he will not read Mr. X's book, or that he will not read it with enjoyment. As I have already said, I laid it down gladly enough, and I have been nurtured on science from my youth up.

The Gypsy's Parson is the product, not of a type of mind, but of a type of man; a rare and perhaps peculiar type, a type that few really know and understand, least of all those who are mere scientific anthropologists first and last: his name (and what a fine name it is!) the Romani Rai, the Gypsy Gentleman. A type so rare, and so frequently misunderstood, needs more than a passing word by way of description. He is, let me state defiantly at the outset, not merely a student of Gypsies; he is a lover of Gypsies. Strange as it may seem to many, he regards these outcasts, these wandering pariahs, as something more than a backward race who can provide him with interesting and valuable anthropological data: the very thought of them somehow stimulates him; the mere chance of meeting them thrills him; his every encounter with them is an adventure to him, an adventure full of mysterious possibilities; he can almost become as one of them, for he can think and feel as they do, and he can think and feel with them; he would often like to throw in his lot with them, not temporarily and for ulterior motives (to wit the better collection of anthropological material), but for ever and for the pure joy of the thing, yet somehow he usually stops short of this last act of devotion. This romantic, impassioned sympathy for the Gypsy race, which is the dominant characteristic of the Romani Rai, is by no means inconsistent with curiosity as to their history, their manner of life, their habits of mind, their beliefs and customs; on the contrary, it is intensely curious, curious about the merest trifles. More, it is the key, and the only key, that can really unlock the Gypsy's heart and mind, and completely lay their treasures bare. As a means to an end, and that end scientific research, it would be more valuable than all else beside but that it is at times all

sufficient in itself, and then opportunities for probing, investigating, and catechizing slip away unheeded, to be regretted, not bitterly but sadly, at some future time when the mood to collect and record is uppermost for the moment. This curiosity of the Romani Rai is by no means identical with the 'enlightened, instructed, impersonal curiosity' of the purely scientific investigator: his values are not anthropological values; they are too human for that. Nor are his methods of collecting those of the trained anthropologist, for these, even should he happen to be familiar with them and admit their value under other circumstances, he would hesitate to apply on any comprehensive scale to the Gypsies, for they are altogether alien to his attitude towards them: and moreover, as results are to him of but secondary importance, things that accrue by the way so to speak, it is not to be expected that he would on their account, no matter how highly he valued them, run the risk of losing the friendship and goodwill of his Romani *pala* and *penia*. Finally, in his published work he seems to prefer, where this is possible, an artistic to a scientific method of presentation; he likes, apparently, to appeal if he can to man's whole nature, and not to his intellect alone.

That he has the defects of his qualities there is no point in denying; that he has, for instance, in his inquiries into Gypsy belief and custom raised a great deal of wind and brought back very little wool, as folk-lorists do not hesitate to say (in private at any rate), cannot be seriously disputed. But if it could it need not here, for the only relevant point at present is this, that the Romani Rai as such is almost bound to interest the general reader when he describes his experiences and adventures in Gypsydom, when he writes of Gypsy life and Gypsy lore, for his attitude towards these strange people of whom he is telling, though peculiar perhaps, is intensely human; whereas the scientific anthropologist as such, when he attempts a popular work, is almost as sure to fail, for by training and by habit he ignores human nature, which is the last thing that the ordinary man will tolerate.

Mr. Hall is a typical Romani Rai; and he is one of the best. He is, moreover, a Romani Rai of very wide and varied experience, for he has never restricted himself to one particular class or kind of Gypsy, nor even exclusively to those who can claim to be of the *kálo rat*: on the contrary, he has mixed up with all and sundry, from pure-blooded, aristocratic Herons to the veriest of 'mumpers,' cheerfully accepting them for what they are, liking most, disliking

none, condemning none as devoid of interest; his geniality, his hail-fellow-well-met-ness, ensuring him of a welcome everywhere; his easy manner, all-embracing yet intimate, enabling him to keep a whole tentful of Gypsies in a good humour with themselves and with him, whilst at the same time he draws out from some *pūri dai* the jealously guarded secrets concerning her great-grandfather's wives; his kindly interest in personal and domestic affairs, his fund of story and anecdote, and his skill as a raconteur, his love and knowledge of wild life, all contributing to make a visit from the *Rasai* an event that is remembered with genuine pleasure. To those who do not know Mr. Hall in the flesh, *The Gypsy's Parson* should be specially welcome as a means of making his acquaintance in the spirit: to those who have gone a-gypsying in his company, or discussed 'The affairs of Egypt' with him over the dying embers till the small hours of the morning, it should be equally welcome as a means of renewing an all too brief intercourse with a brother Romani Rai.

The Gypsy's Parson consists of a series of sketches of a few of Mr. Hall's many experiences and adventures in Gypsydom from the time when, as a small boy attending a dame school in Lincoln, he found himself irresistibly attracted by a Gypsy school-mate, Sibby Smith, and her harum-scarum brother Snakey; together with special chapters on such subjects as Gypsy names, Gypsy burial lore, Gypsy transportations, Appy Boswell, tinkers and grinders; also a glossary of Romani words used in the text, and a list of Gypsy fore or Christian names. Of his early life on Lincoln Hill, and the romance of his prentice days as scholar Gypsy and Gypsy scholar, Mr. Hall gives a very pretty picture in his two opening chapters. Then comes a change of scene to a bleak and ugly mining village up in county Durham, where he held his first curacy, and with it an interesting glimpse of the Watlands and the Winters. But it is not long before he is back again in his native county, nor before he makes a new 'find' there in Jonathan Boswell, one of the 'old standards,' a kindly and lovable man, whose character is portrayed with skill and sympathetic understanding. Many a delightful hour is passed in Jonathan's company till death, alas! claims him. With his ways cast once more in 'green country places,' and in his own beloved Lincolnshire, Mr. Hall is happy, yet whatever the charms of a life of rural bliss to one so fond of Nature and so intimate with her ways, the call of the road and the lure of the Gypsy are

more than he can resist. He makes excursions to fairs and races, to West Stockwith, to Peterborough, to Seamer, to Horncastle of famous memory, to Epsom Downs on Derby Day; pays visits to the Blackpool Gypsyry, to the Grays at Grimsby, and to house-dwelling *Romane* of all sorts and conditions at Nottingham, at Derby, and at Scarborough; and joins in caravan tours in North Wales, and to the best known of all Gypsy gathering grounds, Brough Hill Fair. With Mr. Hall's catholicity of taste there is plenty of variety in his experiences, and his book in consequence has the great merit of being thoroughly representative of the life of the roads and of those mean tenements in which an unkind fortune has driven Gypsies to settle.

Of the lore that he records, this at any rate can be said, that there are few points of general interest on which he does not touch, however slightly, and that his method of presentation is not only well suited to the style of his book, but admirably adapted to the needs of the ordinary reader, whose previous knowledge of Gypsies consists of a few misconceptions, and who must be humoured if he is to be instructed. Gypsy character and thought, belief and custom, are as a rule illustrated by some concrete example, picturesque or striking, humorous or odd for the most part, but with a strong personal interest, if nothing else, to commend it. There are tales and anecdotes of every description, many of which are really good: Lying Tales; legendary stories; incidents arising out of Gypsy beliefs in ghosts, fairies, the devil, the evil eye, 'cunning men,' witches, enchantments and omens, and out of the customs they observe at death; stories connected with their manner of life and traditional occupations, and their conflicts with the law; biographical anecdotes; and many others that it is not so easy to classify. True, Mr. Hall sticks closely to the well-trodden highways of his subject, but this surely is a virtue rather than a failing in a popular work, for excursions along those fascinating but intricate bypaths so beloved of the *Romani Rai*, even if space could have been found for them, would but have bewildered and fatigued the general reader.

It is then a very attractive account of Anglo-Romany life in its many phases that Mr. Hall has written, and one, moreover, that is sufficiently comprehensive to be of real service to the student who is making his first acquaintance with 'The Affairs of Egypt.' It is an account tinged with that queer, romantic, impassioned sympathy for the Gypsy race which is the hall-mark

of the Romani Rai, with his feeling that he is undertaking a great adventure whenever he goes a-Gypsying; an account that bears on almost every page the impress of its author's geniality, and of his easy, all-embracing yet intimate manner. And it is, finally, an account set in an ample background than which no other could be so appropriate, Nature herself in her manifold aspects, but Nature relieved at convenient intervals by a good old-fashioned inn. By way of adding still further to its attractiveness, it is generously illustrated with some very fine photographs, many of them taken by Mr. Fred Shaw, the sustained excellence of whose work is already known to members of the Gypsy Lore Society. To the ordinary reader, then, *The Gypsy's Parson* can be strongly recommended: it is a book that he should not fail to get, and one which, with its varied yet ever human appeal, he cannot fail to enjoy. To the Romani Rai it needs no recommendation, for he is sure to have read it already.

To appreciate a book is, however, but part of a reviewer's task: he must be prepared to criticize it as well, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred at any rate. That all criticism should be deferred until an attempt at appreciation has been made is no bad working rule, for without appreciation there can be no true sympathy and understanding, and without sympathy and understanding criticism is apt to be both unjust and futile. The fact that I do thoroughly appreciate *The Gypsy's Parson* will, I trust, prevent me from finding fault with it unfairly, and may, I hope, lend some value, however slight, to the criticism I am about to offer on two fundamental points.

In his essay on 'The Decay of Lying,' Oscar Wilde begins his protest this wise: 'One of the chief causes that can be assigned to the curiously commonplace character of most of the literature of our age is undoubtedly the decay of Lying as an art, a science, and a social pleasure.' Real life, even the life of the roads, runs very thin at times; it is but a mere trickle: in popular phrase there is 'nothing doing.' Art shows us life as a great river flowing steadily on; it shows us life at the full: in art there is always 'something doing.' Real life, viewed piecemeal as it is by the majority of us, is little else than a heterogeneous collection of incidents and experiences, occurring in somewhat haphazard fashion, generally incomplete and imperfect in themselves, always liable to recur at later periods with but slight development, their full meaning

and significance all too frequently obscure: all which may be summed up in popular phraseology by saying that life is 'scrappy.' But the artist sees life whole (or at any rate some aspect of it), and by selection, condensation, rearrangement, and correlative grouping he presents it (in one or more of its aspects) as one whole, one continuous experience, or adventure if you will, full of meaning and purpose. In short, art and artists 'lie' about life in their synthesis of it, and we appreciate it and understand it the better in consequence. To make a book like *The Gypsy's Parson* an artistic whole, hard, persistent 'lying' is necessary. But on this point Mr. Hall does not seem to have made up his mind, with the result that there is a mixture of styles in his book. He 'lies' hard in his two opening chapters, and to a less extent in his treatment of Jonathan Boswell and elsewhere; and he 'lies' hard throughout in sketching in his background: but there are places where he presents life as it is in one of those phases when there is 'nothing doing,' and other places where he faithfully reflects the 'scrappiness' of life. It is where he adheres too rigidly to the literal truth about his experiences and adventures, where he is a photographic machine rather than an artist, that his book is weakest as popular literature: that at any rate is my opinion. I would rather he had imposed no such limitation on himself; that he had brought under contribution all the vast amount of material that he has gathered during many years of fruitful intercourse with Gypsies, selecting the best from every source, and in the use of it not being too needlessly particular as to exactly when and where he obtained it; that he had 'lied' hard and 'lied' persistently, in other words, that he had used to the full his gift of artistic synthesis, in order to make his popular picture of Anglo-Romany life as perfect as the space at his disposal would allow. This method of treatment followed throughout would, in addition, have afforded Mr. Hall more scope for characterization, for which he has an undoubted talent. But many will not agree with me as to the relative merit of 'lies' and 'truth' in a book of the type under consideration: they will welcome the 'truth' in *The Gypsy's Parson*, and condemn the 'lies.'

The proper treatment of dialect in popular literature is a difficult problem, for there is the danger, on the one hand, of tiring and irritating the reader by a too strict adherence to the dialectical form of speech, and, on the other, of toning it down into featureless, unidiomatic vulgar English. Mr. Hall has not, I

think, sufficiently realized the second of these dangers in his telling of the many stories and anecdotes that he has included in *The Gypsy's Parson*. To have given each of these in the original would not only have been unwise but impossible, yet something more of the idiom and the vocabulary of Gypsy-English should have been preserved. Groome might well be taken as a model in this respect, for in his *In Gipsy Tents* he has succeeded with wonderful deftness and subtlety in preserving the essence of Gypsy-English whilst discarding most of those peculiarities which in bulk would prove unpalatable to the general reader. Groome's genius is not, of course, granted to everybody, but Mr. Hall can relate Gypsy stories so effectively, and in a style not dissimilar to Groome's, that it is surprising to find this weakness in his book. It must not be supposed, however, that he has told his stories badly (though one or two attempts at re-telling Gypsy tales in his own words are far from happy); in fact, he has told many of them well: but he has not in *The Gypsy's Parson* quite lived up to his own high reputation as a raconteur. It is, in all probability, his too anxious consideration for the limitations of the general reader that has caused this unexpected defect.

I have now done my damndest as a critic, and yet *The Gypsy's Parson* is still standing firmly on its legs, and looking little the worse for what it has undergone. I am glad of this, for I like the book and wish it well. Here's long life to it, and an ever widening circle of appreciative readers! May its success, for success it will achieve I am sure, amply repay Mr. Hall for his labours!

T. W. THOMPSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES

8.—HOKHANO BARO IN 1646

An early instance of the Gypsy practice to which Borrow refers as *hukni* or *hokhano baro* occurs in the Minutes of the Kirk Sessions of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, under the date 1646, July 23 :—'Janet Wilsoune and Janet Tailyour for having conversatioune with ane Egyptiane who deluded them and got monies from them promising to restore the double, and took the monies with her and left nathing in their kistes but colles bound in ane napkin—they suffering her to go to their kistes, the sessioun thinking them to be diffident of God's providence and giving themselves over to evil delusions for an example to others, ordained them to stand publicly before the congregation in the middle of the church.' (G. Lorimer, *The Early Days of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1915, p. 147.)

At the following meeting of the session it is recorded that 'Janet Tailyour and Janet Wilsoune maid public satisfioun and paid everie ane of them 55 boddles for the poore' (*ib.*, l.c.).

E. O. WINSTEDT.

9.—GYPSIES IN EGYPT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

While browsing among the books in Bodley's Library I came across a communication signed W. Weyh in volume 111 for the year 1903 of *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*. · *Begründet von Ludwig Herrig*. The reference is to page 421. The writer quotes from an old travel book, *Petri Bellonii Cenomani . . . Observationes tribus libris expressae. Carolus Clusius Atrebas e Gallicis Latinas faciebat et denuo recensebat*. Antwerp, 1605. The first edition of the Itinerary, he says, appeared in 1590; the actual journey of the French savant lasted from 1546-49. The title and contents of chapter 51 of book II. run :—

Errones illos quos vulgo Ægyptios appellamus, perinde in Ægypto inveniri atque in aliis regionibus.

Nullam regionem in universo orbe immunem esse existimo ab erroribus illis turmatim incedentibus, quos *falso nomine* Ægyptios et Bohemos appellamus: nam in Materea et Cairo, atque secundum Nilum, in plurimis Nili pagis magnas istorum turmas invenimus, sub Palmis desidentes, qui non minus *ab Ægyptiis*, quam a nobis *peregrini habentur*. Quoniam autem ex Wallachia aut Bulgaria oriundi, Christiani sunt, atque plurimas linguas callent. Itali eos Singani appellant. Istorum uxoribus (privilegio a Turcis impetrato) sese prostituere publice licet, cum Christianis, tum Turcis; aedesque habent in Pera, multis cubiculis instructas, quo quilibet libere ingredi potest, sine ullo Turcici magistratus metu; ubi continuo duodenae ad minimum mulieres versantur. Hi errone per Græciam, Ægyptum et reliquum Turcarum dominium, *ferrariam artem exercent*; atque inter ipsos excellentes inveniuntur in ea re artifices. Ipsimet suos carbones excoquunt; et eos (ut intelleximus) qui ex ericae sti(r)pitibus et radicibus parantur, ad eius modi opera omnium aptissimos esse censent; ferrum enim indurare creduntur.

It is of considerable interest to know that in the middle of the sixteenth century Gypsies were recognized by the native Egyptians to be strangers to their country. Our traveller seems to have been both observant and intelligent, and the whole account is of value.

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

10.—GYPSY SMITHS IN GREECE

The same writer quoted in the preceding note (W. Weyh) adds at the same reference :—

In mittelgriechischen vulgären Gedichten, wie dem 'Poulologos' (Wagner, *Carmina Gr. medii aevii* 1874, p. 179), werden V. 13 χαλκίας, V. 27 χαλκωματᾶ als beleidigende Schimpfwörter gebraucht, was auf eine lange Anwesenheit der als Schmiede tätigen Zigeuner schliessen lässt.

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

11.—THE GYPSY CONFERENCE

'The pretty little town of Cannstadt, near Stuttgart, in the kingdom of Wurtemberg, was lately the scene of one of the most extraordinary gatherings that have been assembled for years. The meeting of the great Parliament of gypsies or Bohemians opened, and the deliberations continued from day to day. The president was Joseph Reinhard, now remarkable as having attained the great age of ninety-eight, and the meeting consisted of delegates from all the tribes of gypsies scattered throughout Europe. Here were represented the Gitanos of Spain, the Cignani of Italy, the Zigeuner of Russia, and our own familiar but

rather unpopular tribe of gipsies. The Parliament is a septennial one, and its deliberations are directed to further the interests of this nomad race, whose members are to be found in every part of the globe. It has been known for a long time that this Parliament would hold its deliberations at Cannstadt, and as the institutions and even the origin of gipsies form a subject of great interest to *savants*, the different towns of Wurtemberg poured into the little village quite a crowd of antiquaries, philosophers, and inquiring tourists.'—*Leisure Hour*, vol. 21, p. 432 (London, 1872). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 272. GEO. F. BLACK.

12.—GYPSIES IN NORFOLK IN 1817

NORFOLK.—At the last general quarter sessions for this county, the following resolution was carried unanimously: 'That the clerk of the peace do give public notice in the newspapers circulated within the County of Norfolk, that all persons pretending to be gipsies, or wandering in the habit or form of Egyptians, are by law deemed to be rogues and vagabonds, and are punishable by imprisonment and whipping. And the chief Constables in their respective hundreds, and the petty Constables in their respective parishes, are required to put the law in execution, by apprehending such gipsies, or pretended gipsies, and to carry them before some of his Majesty's justices of the peace acting in and for the said county, in order that they may be dealt with according to law.'—*New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 8, p. 462 (London, 1817). GEO. F. BLACK.

13.—AMERICAN GYPSIES

The following note by Dr. Alexander Jones, of Mobile, Alabama, is published in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, vol. 26, pp. 189-190, New Haven, 1834.

'I see Prof. Griscom has translated from the "*Revue Encyclopedique*" an article on "*Gypsies*" for your Journal, in which he remarks that there are no "*Gypsies*" in America, or that "they have never appeared in America." In this the writer is mistaken. There is a colony of "*Gypsies*" on *Biloxi Bay* in Louisiana, who were brought over and colonized by the French at a very early period of the first settlement of that state. They are French "*Gypsies*" and speak the French language; they call themselves "*Egyptians*," or "*Gypsies*." The French call them indifferently, "*Egyptians*" or "*Bohémiens*."

'What is remarkable, since their colonization in this country, they have lost the distinctive character of their idle and wandering habits. They are no longer strolling vagrants, but have, in the lapse of time, become in all respects like the other French settlers found in Louisiana. They appear equally polite, hospitable, and intelligent. They also possess all the industry and enjoy all the ordinary comforts of settled life, that belong to the French inhabitants generally.

'The only striking difference between them is seen in their complexion and in the color of their hair, which is much darker in the "*Gypsies*" than in the French population. Their hair is also coarser and straighter than that of the French.

'Their intellectual vigor appears to be as great as that of any people. A young man of this colony received a collegiate education at Georgetown, D.C., and is residing in New Orleans; and there are probably few men to be found in the United States of his age, whose knowledge and learning are more profound and varied than his. He is also a good and ready writer. The most of the foregoing facts were derived from an eminent and learned lawyer of Mobile, who speaks the French language fluently, and has travelled among, and conversed familiarly with these "*Gypsies*."

GEO. F. BLACK.

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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NEW SERIES
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THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

THE OLD SERIES of the Journal began in 1888 and ended in 1892, the whole forming Three Volumes—Vol. I., six numbers; Vol. II., six numbers; and Vol. III., four numbers. Messrs. T. and A. CONSTABLE, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, have still on sale several of the numbers, at the original cost of 5s. each.

The New Series of the Journal began in July 1907, four parts and a supplementary index-part making an annual volume. Copies can still be obtained at the subscription price of £1 for each volume, but they are sold only to members of the Gypsy Lore Society. Single parts cannot always be supplied: when copies are available for sale to members the price is 5s. each, with the exception of the index-parts of Vols. I., III., and IV., for which only 2s. 6d. is charged.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. VIII

YEAR 1914-15

No. 4

I.—O PURO BOSHIMÁNGRO

(A Ballad of the Scottish Border—*Sir Walter Scott*)

*SAS puro korodo Boshimángro,
Chirla jivélus 're Tem akái.*

*Wontsélas te jal ki Angitéra,
Te chorél Kralisésko Kálo Grai.*

*Gíds pes 'kaná k'i puri romni,
Sig laki pendás o gozvaló :*

*' Mistó n'avéla kek 'kaia buti
Bi-grasniása ta yek khuró.'*

*' Si tut, mind, posh-párni grasni ?
Ruchés okhtél ta sig-sig prastél.*

*Chí' tut top grasniáko dumo ;
Muk mandi khuro ; akái me-'chél.'*

*Sig-sig kistéla ki Angitéra,
I grasni prastéla sar bavál.
Kana 'vel 'glan báre garéski stiga,
Ak'o Kralis pesti te kár'las tulál.*

VOL. VIII.—NO. IV.

R

'Av 'ré mi komóra, Boshimángro ;
 Boshá tu amengi, te shunás !'
 'Fetedér,' khoch'ov, 'kamós i stanya,
 Te dav grasniáti kusi kas.'

O Kralis dikél par'l o bango piko,
 Penél stanyakréski : 'Av akái ;
 Le Boshimangréski posh-párni grasni,
 Ta pande la poshe mo Kdlo Grai.'

Puró boshavélas ta giavélas,
 E raia pirénsa kelénas sár.
 'Já gudli sas Boshimangréski gili,
 Bisterélas o mursh stanyáko hudár.

Puró boshavélas ta giavélas,
 Poste raia sovénas sár.
 Tardyás o chiokha e pirénde,
 Niserdás talé o podos shukár.

Rhodél vasténsa hudréski 're stanya,
 Ta jal piríndo 'p'o kholová.
 Lhatyél hudár ta piravél les,
 Ake trin ta trinvardésh graia !

Lel shelo avri peske pochiáte—
 Mistó kel sár so si les te kel—
 Dolésa i grasniáki pori
 Ta Kdle Gresko nak pandél.

Mukdás te nashén o dui stigáte,
 Par'l puv ta mura ta vesh gilé.
 Chi khal 'p'o drom na Grai na grasni,
 Mus te prastén k'o khuro keré.

Lhoke piré sas e grasniáti,
 O tacho drom sig-stg lhatyás.
 'Viás k'i lake keréski stiga
 Trin ori manke o kam prachás.

Grasni 'glan resko hudár achéla,
 Boshél ta báro godli kel.
 'Ach 'pré,' khoch' i romni, 'tu lindali rakli,
 Muk te res grasniása 'dré te 'vel.'

*I butiákri 'chas 'pré, ridyás pes,
 'Rol klizinyáki khev dikás.
 ' Me tachimásti !' kárdás i rakli,
 ' Te nevo khuró 'mári grasni 'yas !'*

*' Ach konyo, nu raker tu, diniltu !
 O shon kela tut te dikés bangó.
 'Pre yek khátra mo loro sár chiváva
 Tene báreder si-lo ná 'máro khuró.'*

*'Re Kral'ésko ker, 'rol sár o cheros,
 O Boshimángro boshavél.
 Na sis kena chi, teni les shunéna,
 Poste jal i rat ta divés arél.*

*Kana duhyerél i raikuni sarla,
 Kek-kómi kel páias mursh na rai :
 Ake Kálo Grai chordó Kralisésti,
 Ta Boshimangrésti grasni tai !*

*' Bibákht !' kár'las gozvalo Boshimángro,
 ' Bibákht sis men te 'vióm akái !
 Keré nashadóm me mo tikno khuro,
 Angitráti liné miri grasni tai !'*

*' Ma kár tu "bibákht," puro Boshimángro,
 Boshá 'men, gúá, te shunás páp'lé.
 Peserása tut 'mé tire tikne greki ;
 Grasni but fetedér daso tuti amé.'*

*Puró boshavélis ta giavélis :
 'Jó gudle sas lengi o gúá,
 Peseré le shurédi te khar rozholó sas.
 Ta kúélas loéss trón grasni.*

DOUGLAS MACALISTER.

II.—COPPERSMITH GYPSY NOTES

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT

THE extraordinary complexity of Gypsy studies is illustrated by the way in which, since the publication of my account of the Coppersmiths' visit to Great Britain (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 244-303) and the Rev. F. G. Ackerley's analysis of their dialect (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 303-26, vii. 116-49, 161-214), further information on various points has been obtained. This information is too important to be ignored, though I fear it is too disjointed to afford material for a satisfactory paper.

The newspapers of October 30, 1913, and the following days had accounts and photographs of a new band of some eighty Coppersmiths who had arrived in London under the leadership of chiefs named Gregory Maximoff and Philipoff and had taken four houses in Ilford. Maximoff was said to have been in England two years before, and his name was known as one under which some of the Coppersmiths who joined the Tsurons in 1911 passed when in Leeds and Manchester. In the *Evening News* for June 11, 1913, it was stated that a Gypsy chief named Maximoff had been robbed in London of a pocket-book containing foreign notes and four return tickets for Paris, indicating that the party had been in France for some time before they crossed to London. Some of them, as soon as they had settled in Ilford, promptly applied for poor relief, in spite of evidences of wealth exhibited on landing: and it was explained, probably with some truth, that though one family was rich, the others were far from wealthy.

The inhabitants of Ilford soon began complaints in the local papers, with the usual disregard for sense, logic, and veracity. Their local paradise's prosperity, commercial and residential, was being ruined by the presence of foreigners: those foreigners had no beds—provincial Ilfordian minds being apparently unable to distinguish between a bed and its quite unnecessary adjunct a bedstead: their sanitary arrangements were disgraceful to civilization, for example, the house they lived in had no water supply for a week—which certainly did throw a disgraceful light on the civilization of the inhabitant or inhabitants of Ilford, whose duty it was to supply the house with water, but not on the Gypsies: and anyhow, why had they come to Ilford at all, and why did they

not go away again? At that, indeed, one does wonder. Simultaneously with these complaints occurred the death of three of the children, whose names appeared in the papers as Marko Dakar or Marko Cadre [Kádar], son of Thomas Cadre, aged four, Siska Thomasius, aged six (both of these were sons of Tomas, a *kjirvo* of Nikola Tšuron), and Ivan Setnikoff, aged one. At the beginning of December, a few days after the third death, forty of the party were said to have moved to Walthamstow, sixty still remaining in Ilford (*Daily Mail*, December 3); but the first number at least was probably exaggerated, since when I visited them just after Christmas there was only one family, the Deméters, living at Walthamstow. They were occupying a semi-detached house with a yard and stable attached, in a very respectable neighbourhood.

The family consisted of Frinka Deméter, aged fifty-six (brother of Matej, Džuri, and probably half-brother of Miloš), with eight sons—Voršo *alias* Todor, aged twenty-eight, Savka, Alexander, Matej, Frinka, etc., of whom the two first, Todor and Savka, were married and had families—and one little daughter. Frinka's wife was, or is—for I am not sure whether she is alive or not—named Vorža. All of this family, except Alexander, who has musical proclivities, were coppersmiths: they asserted that they had been even richer than Nikola, but had dissipated their wealth partly in a prolonged period of revelry, the same that was described by Mr. Augustus John in an earlier volume of this *Journal* (iv. 220-1), and partly by a subsequent voyage to Mexico and a visit to Germany, both of which proved profitless countries. In Germany they had also had the misfortune to fall foul of native Gypsies in Berlin, the matter ending in a formidable fray. Like Miloš and Džordži, both Frinka and Voršo claimed to have been born in Hungary.

Besides these, there was at that time a large party occupying a big house in High Road, Leighton. This party consisted, among others, of old friends in the persons of Jono Maximoff with his son Lolja, or Maxim, the young man who was born at Liverpool some twenty-eight years ago, and who played the accordeon while his sister sang to Mr. Gilliat-Smith, our late and our present Honorary Secretaries and myself, in Manchester.

In Philip Street, off Commercial Road, was one family calling itself Filipoff; while in a large house, No. 10 Great Garden Street, off the Whitechapel Road, were a miscellaneous lot of Sotnikoffs, Kalmikoffs, Kudakoffs, and Kadars with others, including a

patriarch named Dzurka, aged eighty, who at first claimed to be a brother of Grantša Tšuron, though he subsequently denied it. When I visited them in March the house in Leighton was abandoned, its inhabitants having moved, along with the Filipoffs, to No. 71 Plumbers Row, Whitechapel.

Unfortunately most of these names, as Voršo Deméter confessed to me, mean little or nothing. The surnames, he said, never mean anything; and though the Deméters seem to travel pretty consistently under that name, Miloš and the rest in America have altered it to Dimidoff, and would quite as readily alter it to something far more dissimilar. Oddly, in several cases the families seem to be passing under the *gadžikano* name of one of the sons with the suffix *-off*, this suffix being pronounced by the Deméters at least with a practically inaudible *ff*. For example, Filip's father called himself Zanko Vlažo ('the Wallachian') though he was born in Russia, but the family as a whole passed under the name of Filipoff; and similarly the Maximoffs seem to take their name from that of young Maxim *alias* Lolja. It is of course possible that in such cases the son has inherited the grandfather's name, and that it is that which is really being used; but unfortunately, as I did not ask either Jono or Zanko what their father's name was, this is only a rash hypothesis. In any case it does not apply to the family as a whole, since a brother of Filip was called Blenoff, and Dura (*alias* Dzan and Dzurka Filipoff) professed to Mr. Shaw to be a brother of Lolo Kosmin. In these circumstances it is unfortunate that the elders do not adopt the practice of some of the children and give their own name with an adjectival patronymic (*e.g.* Joršasko Grantša and Ivan Ivanesko), though even that method would not be always reliable, since the father at times may bear many Romani names. The most convincing example of this with which I have met was the case of the dwarf whom we had known as Morkoš *alias* Burda Tšuron. When I asked for news of him from five men, using one of these names, they did not comprehend whom I meant. I tried the other with a like result, but as soon as I described him they recognized him at once, and each of the five cried out a different name, Voršo Deméter adding that he had a lot of names. Kadar again is known as Jišwan, Dzurka, and Grantša.

On one of the evenings when I visited them it was my good fortune to witness a trial, *Romai Kris*. It was perhaps hardly a formal trial, or, if it was, then trials among these Gypsies are very

informal. Possibly my presence altered the nature of the proceedings a little, as, when the accused entered with a party of Gypsies from the various families, they all settled down round the *skafidi*, drank tea, entered into a general conversation, insisted on my telling them a tale, and afterwards discussed the ways and means of getting to Christiania, whither some of them professed to have a desire to go. Then suddenly the talk became fast and general—so fast that for some minutes I lost all idea of its purport, until the frequent use of the words *kris* (trial), *krisako* (judge), and *tšumidja la*, combined with the hangdog look of a youth at whom all the talk seemed to be directed, gave me some inkling of the turn affairs were taking. Subsequently it became evident that the phrase *tšumidja la* was a mere euphemism for a more serious breach of morals. I thought it better to show no particular interest in the matter, and withdrew from the circle to talk with the children and the interpreter; and though one of the Gypsies, finding from a question of mine that I understood what was going on, asked me to accept the invidious position of judge, which I naturally refused, I have reason to suppose my presence, as one would expect, was not much desired. Still their sense of hospitality prevented them from asking me to retire, and so I stayed for some two or three hours of the interminable discussion. The judge was, strangely, the culprit's father; and the injured party did not appear in person, nor was he represented by his father. A brother of his was, I believe, present, but he did not seem to take any more active part in the proceedings than any one else. Possibly formal accusers were unnecessary, because the offence—a sordid intrigue between two youthful married persons—was not denied, so the only point for consideration was the settlement of a penalty, and the Gypsies present took the place of a jury, the judge himself seldom vouchsafing a remark. Women were sternly excluded from the discussion, and were told that they ought to be ashamed of themselves if they understood; indeed, after a short time they drifted out of the room. So too after some hours did part of the jury, the injured husband's relatives, leaving only the culprit's family and members of one other family, who were, I think, relatives of the erring wife. But any unfairness was perhaps excluded by offers of the culprit's brother to count this meeting merely a *diwán*, and to appear himself alone the next day before a court in one of the other houses and represent his brother's case.

The penalty most discussed was banishment (*prasaipé*), though an absurd alternative of taking the accused to the Russian consul for imprisonment was suggested. The view taken of *prasaipé* seemed to be that it was usually ineffectual, as the person condemned to it simply wandered from one company to another; and the accused pleaded that being an *artiste* it was necessary for him to belong to some company. Lots were, I think, drawn at one period, as a number of slips of paper were torn up and a paper dice-box made; but just then weariness of the flesh compelled me to retire with the interpreter to an adjacent inn; and in any case they did not decide the verdict, as the argument was still going on vigorously when we returned. The verdict I only heard the next day, as I had to leave before it was given. It was much the same as would have been given in an English court, if, as was the case, the injured husband did not wish to divorce his wife. In the event of an illegitimate child being born a sum of money was to be paid—whether in a lump sum or by instalments I am not sure, but both were mentioned as possible arrangements; and the husband thrashed his wife—either as part of the sentence or as a natural vent to his feelings.

One of the boys present assured me that a *Romai Kris* had the power of sentencing offenders to death; but in what circumstances this would occur I am not sure. Hardly in the case of murder—which among Gypsies would usually mean manslaughter—as the young man who told me the verdict on the next day said that a heavy fine was the usual penalty for such things, and would not admit that the death penalty was used. Probably it is very exceptional.

A number of interesting but generally unconnected notes about these Coppersmith Gypsies have been placed in my hands, which I will here attempt to summarise. Most of these notes were obtained by Mr. R. A. S. Macfie, the Rev. F. G. Ackerley and myself, mainly from Mr. Frank Poláček, a Bohemian who met a party of these Gypsies in Liverpool during the summer of 1911, accompanied them as interpreter to London, and afterwards travelled with them in South America. He revisited Liverpool, March 11-13, 1914, while Nikóla and his tribe were awaiting a boat at Coruña. Ignorant of Romani at first, he succeeded in learning the language while with the Gypsies in South America. After leaving Liverpool he came to London, where I met him.

The information we have obtained may be detailed under convenient heads—Itinerary, Additions and Corrections to my former paper (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 244-303), Childbirth, Uncleaness of Women, Marriage, Funerals, Superstitions and Customs.

I. ITINERARY

It has been recorded already that Nikóla (Wóršo Grantsásko) and some of his relations left England for Madeira in the spring of 1912, and that his father Grántša with the rest of the family sailed to South America in May (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 248). A letter dated 1st August 1912 (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 326), from Andréas (Fárdi), showed that the second party, after some difficulty, succeeded in landing at Monte Video, where they stayed about three months.

In the meantime Nikóla came from Madeira to Rio de Janeiro, but was not allowed to go ashore, because the immigration authorities had received a telegram which alleged that the Gypsies stole children.¹ It would take more than an American immigration inspector, however, to thwart Nikóla's will: he sent a boy for a boat, bribed an officer with a couple of sovereigns, and with his connivance escaped ashore at midnight. But by the time he had exercised his persuasive talents on the Government, and obtained permission for his party to disembark, the boat, with the party aboard, had left the port. The Gypsies were refused a landing at Santos also, and it seems to have been the intention of the authorities to send them back to Europe. But the steamer was obliged to call at Rio de Janeiro on her return voyage, and the younger Nikóla also evaded custody and, in the street, met his father, who again made his influence felt and had the ship detained two hours to enable the Gypsies to land. Not even yet, however, were their troubles ended, for the customs officers seized all their silver-plate and money, demanding duty to the amount of 18,000 francs. Nikóla at once consulted a lawyer, giving him 500 francs, and promising more if necessary, and ultimately the property was restored to its owners without the payment of any duty.

¹ This telegram was probably sent by some consul at the instigation of Adam Kirpatš, who is still anxious to recover the children Nikóla took from him (see *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 261). Mr. Poláček reports, however, that the children are well cared for, and probably better off than they would be with their father, who, although the best workman in the tribe, has little of the astuteness which has made Nikóla wealthy.

The Deméter family in London deny the custom of taking a widower's children from him, and say the case of Adam Kirpatš is the only one known to them.

Finding that, owing to the number of distilleries, work was abundant in Brazil, Nikóla wrote to his brother Andréas (Fárdi) in Monte Video, and the whole family reassembled in Rio de Janeiro, where they stayed about five months. Afterwards they spent three months in San Paulo, and visited Guaratingueta (where they were in May 1913) and other places. In spite of their success, Nikóla's wife Tínka was not content to remain in Brazil, but conceived a desire to visit the United States, whither Nikóla himself, speaking little or no English, did not wish to go. However, Tínka had her way, and the whole party sailed from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon, whence, after waiting ten days, they went by train to Coruña. From Coruña they intended to sail to Vera Cruz, in Mexico, on March 21, 1914, and from there they expected to be able to pass to New Orleans. It is difficult to explain this extraordinary route from Brazil to Mexico unless Nikóla had some special reason, possibly the withdrawal of money deposited in banks, for revisiting Europe. From the *Daily Express* for June 23 it appears that Nikóla with three sons (presumably his sons Kóla and Yángo and his son-in-law Párvolo), with their wives and children, amounting in all to twenty-eight people, were refused admission at New York about ten days earlier, though they had £20,000 with them. What has become of them since is not known.

Many of the other Gypsies who were in Great Britain with Nikóla have also crossed the Atlantic. The brothers Míxaj and Kokój, with their families, wrote to Nikóla for money while he was in Brazil, and came to South America. Mr. Poláček, at the time of his visit to Liverpool, thought they were still in Mexico. Matěj and his tribe were refused permission to land in the United States, but Matěj himself went to Washington and arranged for them to disembark at Galveston: Mr. Poláček believed that they were then (March 1914) in Texas. Míloš, anticipating difficulties, bought Canadian land while he was in England, and went to Montreal as a landowner in the end of June 1913; he does not seem to have visited his estate, but having secured a right to land went straight to Boston.

II. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

The Tšóron family and their connexions form a fairly distinct group or class of Gypsies, admitting relationship, more or less

close, with other tribes. Wóršo (Tódor) Deméter told Mr. Fred Shaw that his family and Nikóla's family were *vrais Gypsies*, but that the band then (April 1914) in Whitechapel were not. Still there is among that band an old lady of the name of Tinka, who is admittedly a relative of her namesake Nikóla's wife; and family jealousy must be taken into account in all such statements. Similarly Nikóla's people met in South America a tribe who had come there from Australia, and were described as 'Greek Gypsies.'¹ Although not of exactly the same class, they held Nikóla in high esteem, and made long journeys in order to have cases judged by him.

The name Tšóron Mr. Poláček regarded as purely fictitious, probably obtained by buying the passport of a dead *gažo*, a theory which is not improbable, since a regular trade in the passports of dead people is carried on in European ghettos. Nikóla's followers were divided into several groups, which were distinguished by nicknames. His own immediate relations are *Fünfüroéski*, from *Fünfüro*,² a nickname of Grántša's father, who must have been called also Búmbulo, if Mr. Poláček was right in describing Grántša as 'Grántša Bumbulóska.' The Nottingham party, Mátej Tšóron and his descendants (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 243), are called *Pipiréski*;³ and the relations of another Mátej who was in London were *Rom Frantsuzóski*, probably the same people as are mentioned in text I. (b) (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 306). Finally, there is a section known as *Bumbulóska*, noted for their skill in telling stories; they are descendants of Búmbulo,⁴ who acquired a posthumous celebrity because his death was caused by eating too much sugar. Mr. Poláček said that three of this tribe were in Great Britain: Vórža, wife of Míloš (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 243); Liza their daughter, and wife of Fréštík (Wóršo) Savolóska; and the wife of Mórkoš. It is not clear why Liza should be assigned to the Bumbulóska (her mother's tribe) rather than to the Pipiréski; the Mórkoš to whom Mr. Poláček refers is evidently not the Mórkoš or Búrda who married Nikóla's daughter Térka; and Míloš was already a widower when he came to England. Evidently our information on this system

¹ Compare the report from Melbourne at the end of this section.

² So called because when dying he gave vent to a *riľ* which lasted twenty-four hours!

³ According to Destrilhes (*Confidences sur la Turquie*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1856, p. 146) there is a tribe of Serbians, in the mountains between Novibazar and Montenegro, which is called Piperi.

⁴ See *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 316.

of tribal classification is incomplete, and further inquiry is needed before a thorough understanding can be reached.

In the pedigrees (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 242-3) several corrections should be made: Lóla, recorded as the son of Sávoló and Pavóná, is really their son-in-law, being the husband of their daughter Térka. Fréštík, the name assigned to Wóršo, eldest son of Sávoló and Pavóná, was a joke extemporized for the benefit of the Honorary Secretary. He and Jánko, Nikóla's second son, happened to be talking of breakfast (German *Frühstück*) when their names were first asked. Púdámó,¹ the nickname of Adam Kírpats, appears to be formed by crasis from *Phúro Adamo*. It may be worth while to mention here that Kírpats is evidently the same name as that of Carpaccio, a Slavic artist working in Venice at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Finally, the child whom we knew and worshipped under the name of Tódi, son of Nikóla the younger, was known to Mr. Poláček as Tóli; and Párvalo should no doubt be written Pávalo (cf. Mik., v. 44).

Fránik, son of the younger Nikóla, is engaged to be married to a daughter of Andréas (Fárdi)—Mr. Poláček called her Párni; and Balóka, son of Párvalo, has actually entered into the bonds of matrimony with Liza, daughter of Jóno. Poor Vasíli, whose marriage at the age of twelve or thirteen was mentioned (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 296), is said to have already reason to complain of his wife's conduct: report has it that she enjoys the admiration of *gážo* boys.

Here a few facts may be given which cannot be grouped under any general heading. It was stated (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 251) that some of the Coppersmiths professed to have visited Japan. Mr. Poláček thinks that this was an empty boast; but Jóno, with his family, and others went by railway from Russia to Manchuria, and did a profitable trade by dealing in horses with the 'officers' at Harbin.

Lótka, the pink wife of Andréas (Fárdi), came from Galitsia, and spoke no Romani when she married him. When the Gypsies were in Belfast the dress of one of the girls caught fire, and she was burned to death. At Mitcham the Gypsies made £15 on one day, a Sunday, by charging a penny for admission to the camp: they must therefore have had 3600 visitors.

It will be convenient here to give the information supplied by

¹ Also pronounced Pudámó by some of the Coppersmiths lately in England.

Mr. Alfred Adams. In December 1910 he reported the presence in Melbourne of a party of 'Greek' Gypsies already well known to him. They had come to Australia from Greece about fifteen years before in a French mail steamer, and since their arrival had not only wandered all over the continent, but had also made an excursion round the world and back to Australia again. They professed to have visited England, America, Hungary, Italy, and Spain. Among them was a bear-leader, very tall and muscular, who at first refused to recognize Romani, but on Mr. Adams' fourth visit he came out with a pent-up torrent of Gypsy speech. He and his family had two bears and a monkey, which they purchased from the Zoological Society of Sydney.

Mr. Adams rarely sees any Gypsies actually in Melbourne, though they camp some fourteen miles out of the city. He showed the picture of Tódor Tšóron and his wife Liza (*J. G. I. S.*, vi. 267) to some of these 'Greek' Gypsies, a man and his wife with sixteen children. The wife at once recognized Liza, and exclaimed *miri phe* 'my sister.' She said she had not seen her for many years. She also recognized and knew well—as did her husband—Tódor Tšóron. There seemed to be a distinct family likeness between the woman and Liza's portrait, which Mr. Adams at her urgent request presented to her. This family spoke Romani habitually among themselves, and besides understood Russian, Hungarian, Greek, German and French. The last two they spoke very indifferently. When asked about old Nikóla, they professed to know him, and said *baro barvalo manuš*—but love. The husband said that his wife's maiden name was Lepa Bajkulo.¹

Another family, claiming to be Rumanian-Turkish Gypsies, has been wandering for some years about New Zealand, but has now come to Melbourne. These people apparently pose as Maoris, and their swarthy complexions lend colour to this. They have with them a pianist, and give entertainments in small country halls. For the purpose they adopt 'stage-names,' and the company is advertised as 'York's Tahati Maori Family Variety Show.'²

¹ Mr. Ackerley compares the Slavonic *lepa* (as in Slovenian) meaning 'beautiful.' When she first arrived in Australia she had a singularly beautiful face, oval, with very fine black eyes.

² *Tahati* is not in Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary* (Christchurch, s.a.), nor in Williams, *Dictionary of the New Zealand Language* (London, 2nd ed., 1852). Perhaps it stands for *Tahiti*, which is, however, unlikely to have been visited by these Gypsies.

The head of this family, aged about fifty (February 1915), is named Tšompe Gonári. From him Mr. Adams obtained the following characteristic little song. The close resemblance both in style and dialect to the songs of our Coppersmiths is at once apparent:—

*Haide, Roosho, shook baree,
By payeste tarnasspie,
Shoodro pie, lay Rom tay pen pie,
El rouge-ar high penalla.*

*High, chay payallam
Dicko o gargo avel baro drom,
High, mek-les mande,
May leste tay drobarav
May but love kalav leste.*

*O gargo pendar, ne janessto man,
Roosho, shook baree chui,
Ai, may sin-ko k'o'pral
Wordeel o but lovee,
Haide, prale keree,
Ker der mama par Roolee
Trin kootora kerdile.*

With a few critical emendations this may be transliterated into standard orthography as follows:—

*Hajde! Rušo, šuk[ar] bori,
Baj pejeste t'anas pai,
Šudro pai, le rom te pien pui.
sl ružja haj penela.
Haj tše, peja, ljom?
Dikhañ o gadžo avel baro drom:
Haj mek les mande
Me leste te drobarav;
Me but love ka-lav leste (? lestar).*

*O gadžo phendá, na džanes-tu man,
Rušo, šuk' bori tšaj?
Aj me Sinko, tjo (? sim tjo) phral
Wo dela but lovi.
Hajde! phrala kerì:
Kerdem áms paruli;
Trin katora kerdilé.*

This is fairly intelligible. A Gypsy girl is bidden to fetch water for the men to drink. She returns saying, 'I see a *gadžo* coming along the high road. Leave him to me that I may tell his fortune; I shall get much money from him.' The *gadžo* proves to be her brother. In the end he gives much money, and the girl declares 'We have made pounds.'¹ Three pieces of money were made.

III. CHILDBIRTH

It has been said (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 295) that these Gypsies were not very scrupulous in observing the customs connected with ceremonial defilement, and it certainly appears from many incidents which were observed in Great Britain that some of them, at all events, were but lax respecters of Gypsy law. This laxity was particularly noticeable in cases where an attempt had been made to adapt or extend the ceremonies so as to apply them to the conditions of modern civilization. But Mr. Poláček reports that the laws of ceremonial purity not only exist, but exist in an unusually exacting form, and that, by some of the families at all events, they are observed.

The coins are removed from a woman's hair before she gives birth to a child, in order that they may not become *maxrimé* (defiled), and she is herself *maxrimé* for three weeks² after the event, during which time she must not be seen by any man except her husband. After the expiration of this period all cups, plates, and utensils she has used are broken, and her bedding is burned. Mr. Poláček reported an actual case where neglect to fulfil the conditions exactly caused considerable trouble. A *gážo* boy threw

¹ Mr. Ackerley notes that *paruli* looks like Rumanian plural in *-uri* of the word *para*, and may be rendered 'pounds.' *Ka-lav* is a good example of the future formed with the prefix derived from *kam-*, 'to want.' He takes this opportunity of suggesting that the word *χίβα*, which occurs in the ballad of 'The Conscript' (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 318), glossed by the Gypsy reciter 'sans doute,' and referred in the footnote to Hungarian *hiába* 'in vain,' is with more probability to be referred to some dialectal form of the Rumanian third person singular subjunctive present of the verb 'to be.' Compare the Kutso-Vlach forms *si hjibš* 'it may be,' *pšate si hjibš* 'perhaps.' Literary Rumanian uses *să fie*. The Kutso-Vlach *si*, like the Rumanian *și*=Latin *ut*. Kutso-Vlach also has *ma* 'but,' which seems to be lacking in literary Rumanian.

² Cf. A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, London, s.a. [1914]. These authors state (p. 101) that among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus after a birth 'the mother is not allowed to go out of the house, even to go to church [,] for forty days from the time of the birth. . . . Then the mother sets to work and washes the whole house, and all the rugs, clothes and other properties in it.'

a mat, which Jántši's wife had used during her confinement, on Jóno's tent. Jóno immediately burned the whole tent, and there was a *bári kris* at which Nikóla found Jántši to blame, because the mat should have been destroyed earlier. Jóno, however, did not demand a new tent at Jántši's expense: nevertheless Jántši was so angry at the verdict that, with curious Gypsy inconsequence, he went and hit himself on the head with an iron bar!¹

The ceremony of cutting a baby's hair at baptism, to the omission of which when Wóršo Kokoiésko's child was christened some of the Gypsies objected, is stated by Mr. Ackerley and by Mr. Poláček to be a Russian custom. According to the authoress of *The People of Turkey* (London: John Murray, 1878, vol. ii. p. 25), it is found also among the Greeks: 'Three pieces of hair are cut from its [the baby's] head in the form of crosses and thrown into the water, which is poured into a consecrated well in the church. The cutting off of these locks of hair probably had its origin in a custom observed by the ancient Greeks, who dedicated their hair to the water deities; now it signifies the dedication of the infants to Christ at their baptism.'²

If the *ktrivo* (godfather) gives a present at the christening, he also makes a collection for the child from the guests: otherwise not.

IV. UNCLEANNES OF WOMEN

It is not only after childbirth that a woman is regarded by the Coppersmiths as unclean: she seems to be considered a centre of pollution at all times. Eating utensils become *maxrimé* if a woman steps over them, and must never be used again. The defiling influence extends, by an evidently modern development of the superstition, even to water-pipes passing underground. If

¹ This may be a common weakness of all human nature, but it is certainly Indian. Cf. G. W. Leitner, *Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893* (Woking, s.a.), p. 92: 'When we shall be dead, what is the use of you, a relative, striking your forehead with a stone (as a sign of grief)?'

² In the office of Holy Baptism used in the Russian Church, provision is made for the cutting of the baptized person's hair on the eighth day after Baptism and Chrismation. The appropriate prayer contains this clause, 'Bless, now, thy servant, N., who is come to make a first offering shorn from the hair of his head.' Compare *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church*, Isabel Florence Hapgood, Boston, 1906, pages 285-6, and the note on page 603, 'The shearing of the hair signifies that the newly baptized person has dedicated himself to the service of God, and to obedience; because the cutting of the hair has always been the symbol of submission and servitude.' Compare also the Celtic names Mulpatrik, Mulrooney, etc., meaning 'the tonsured servant (*maol*) of Patrick, Rooney, etc.'; Manx, Mylchreest 'slave of Christ.' The tonsure of the clergy carries out the same idea.

the Gypsies knew where such pipes were, and a woman happened to walk over the spot, they would send any distance to fetch water rather than use the tap supplied by the defiled pipe. They will not use such water even for washing, and in one case they tried to prevent Mr. Poláček from using it. Wórša, wife of Jántši, was making a shirt as a present for one of the 'Greek' Gypsies they met in South America when her dress caught fire. In a panic she hurriedly thrust the shirt between her legs. Although it was *maxrimé* she nevertheless gave it to the man, and it was noticed, after he had worn it for several weeks, that his wife had been ill all the time. The secret of the incident was faithfully kept by the Coppermiths, because, had the man known, he would have claimed pecuniary compensation for damage to his luck. Mr. Poláček believed that feeling on this subject was so strong that, if one Gypsy cursed the property, for instance the samovar, of another by some such phrase as *te del les búle mri rómni*, the other would feel obliged to sell the samovar.

In consequence of the danger of defilement, petticoats and underclothing (by which we understand Mr. Poláček to mean the underclothing of both men and women) are washed separately in a trough (*baláj*) which is used only for polluted things, while other garments are washed in the basin (*tázo*) which the Gypsies also use for washing their hands. A bucket in which *maxrimé* things had been placed would be used no more. The apron (*katrintsa*) is worn to avoid the pollution of objects by contact with the *maxrimé* parts of a woman's clothing.

Persons can become defiled as well as things, and are then treated as outcasts. If they eat with other Gypsies, which is not usually permitted, they must bring their own plate, spoon and glass. A female outcast has her long plaits of hair cut off. If filth (*kul*) be thrown upon a man he becomes temporarily defiled, but unfortunately we omitted to inquire what is the method of purification and reinstatement. During a quarrel a woman sat on a man's head, and he became defiled; and in the night a woman was heard to shout *tšumidél ma ándi miš*, in consequence of which her husband became an outcast for ever.

Probably connected with this question of ceremonial purity are certain matters of etiquette. A man must not offer his seat to a woman, though after she is seated he may move round a little so that she may take a place in the circle. Again, a woman may pass in front of her husband, but not in front of any other

man. In cases of necessity the man turns his back so that, by this subterfuge, the woman passes behind him. An attempt to adapt these customs to the life of a modern city seems to be made, for Mr. Poláček reported that women are not allowed to ride on the upper deck of tramcars if there should be a man—presumably a Gypsy man—inside; nor must a Gypsy man sit on a 'garden' seat in such a position, if there is a woman—presumably a Gypsy woman—in front of and turning her back towards him. Apparently *gáži* women do not count, for the Coppersmiths often travelled inside tramcars when there must have been women sitting over their heads. In Leeds Mr. Ackerley noticed some of the Gypsy women descending from the top of a tramcar. There were, however, no men with them.

V. MARRIAGE

Children are married at about the age of twelve if their parents can afford it, and such unions are not mere forms like Indian child-marriage, for the couple cohabit. A father who wishes to find a wife for his boy goes to the *diwán* carrying a bottle of wine round which a kerchief (*díklo*) is wrapped, and says: 'I have lost a little cow.' Somebody who has a marriageable daughter then replies that he can have the lost animal for such and such a sum of money. If the match is arranged, there is a feast which lasts three days and for which the boy's father pays, and he also gives a present, for instance a *díklo*, to each of the company. On the last day of the feast the girl goes round with a handkerchief to collect money 'to build a little house.' If, at the first attempt, she fails to collect enough, she goes round again, saying that the walls are built but that she needs more funds for the roof.

The women pry round the tent of a newly-married couple, and apparently hold the bride down if she is unwilling to submit to her marital duties. There is a virginity test, for blood is looked for on her white underskirt, especially if there has been any talk or scandal about her. From the statement quoted from St. Clair (*J. G. L. S.*, vii. 160) it appears that this custom is found among Bulgarians, and the authoress of *The People of Turkey* (ii. 120) records its observance in a Bulgarian settlement in Upper Macedonia.¹

Mr. Poláček thought that divorce was not uncommon, and

¹ Cf. Deuteronomy xxii. 14-17.

that, if it was caused by the fault of the husband, the dowry was returned. He was not, however, very clear on this point, nor on the question of the chastity of the Coppermiths. The girls were forbidden to talk with him, and on the whole he considered their morality extraordinarily high, though he believed that a boy's father was occasionally suspected of—and severely blamed for—making temporary use of his young son's wife.

VI. FUNERALS

An interesting addition to the details of Žaža's funeral (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 297-300) was given by Mr. Poláček. No iron nails were allowed to be used in making the shoes she wore in her coffin, wooden pegs being employed instead. The reason alleged was that the presence of nails would have rendered difficult her ascent into heaven. It is not easy to reconcile this superstition with another which bids them place a piece of steel (*avdžin*) in the mouth of the corpse of an old man if they are afraid that he will become a *tšoxáno*, that is, probably, a vampire. They were terrified of *tšoxános*, which generally took the forms of animals, for instance large dogs. This may explain why, when looking for houses in America, and having found one which was in every way suitable, they nevertheless rejected it because there were so many empty medicine bottles littered about the rooms that they suspected that somebody had died in it. They may, however, have merely regarded the house as defiled by death, in accordance with the well-known Gypsy superstition which, like several others, has its parallel among the Bulgarians. The authoress of *The People of Turkey* (ii. 148-9) records that, after a Bulgarian funeral, 'Returning to the house of mourning, the company wash their hands over the fire, and three days afterwards everything in the house is washed. The objects that cannot be washed are sprinkled with water and exposed to the air for three days, given to the poor, or sold.'¹

The lamentations at a burial are probably universal in the Balkans: a parallel from Bulgaria has already been quoted (*J. G. L. S.*, vii. 160). Edmund Spencer, in his *Travels in Euro-*

¹ Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus, according to Wace and Thompson (*op. cit.*, p. 127), 'The mourners return to the house of the dead man's family. At the door stands a man with a vessel of water, and a shovel with some lumps of charcoal that have been lighted and put out. He pours water over the hands of the mourners, who thus wash their hands, and as each enters the house a piece of the charcoal is thrown after him.'

pean Turkey (2nd ed., London: Hurst and Blackett, 1853, vol. i. p. 353), records that 'In many parts of the country [Bosnia], when a death occurs, the most lamentable cries are uttered by the women, who tear their hair and lacerate their face and their breast till they stream with blood.' The removal of the coffin lid just before burial, which Laveleye (*J. G. L. S.*, vii. 159) mentions as having been forbidden before his visit to Servia, was observed by the Rev. W. Denton (*Servia and the Servians*, London, 1862, p. 100): 'The cover of the coffin was removed in order that the relatives, in accordance with a beautiful and touching custom observed by the Christians throughout European Turkey, might take their last farewell of the inanimate clay, and press the last kiss of affection on the face of the corpse.'

The hole was cut in Žaža's coffin, according to Mr. Poláček, in order to allow her to breathe, and when objection was made that the grave was filled with earth or brickwork, he replied that an arch was made over the coffin so that the material with which the grave was filled did not touch it. This custom is evidently derived from the practice observed by the Turks in Bosnia (Edmund Spencer, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 352), for they buried their dead in shallow graves, not more than three feet deep, and made a hole in the earth through which the corpse could breathe.

As the dates of the funeral-feasts given in the text and in the footnote (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 300) differ slightly, it may be worth while to mention that, according to Spencer (*loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 354), among the Bosnian Christians the 'cries and lamentations are renewed the third day after death, in remembrance of the resurrection of our Saviour. Again on the ninth day, to commemorate his re-appearance on earth, and finally on the fortieth day, in memory of his ascension to heaven.' The authoress of *The People of Turkey* (vol. i. pp. 142 and 146) mentions that the Turks keep such minds on the third, seventh, and fortieth days, the Greeks on the third, ninth, twentieth, and fortieth. The authors of *The Nomads of the Balkans* (p. 127), say that among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus the women go to the grave to wail and distribute boiled wheat to the friends on the second, ninth, fortieth days, and on the first anniversary.

VII. SUPERSTITIONS

The *šošój*, by which they probably meant 'hare,' must not be eaten because it is a *tsoxáno*, and children are not allowed to eat

the leg (*púnro*) of a fowl, or anything similar, for if they do they will become liars: *na xa púnre*; *χοχαvésa*.¹ Children whose fathers are alive are further prohibited from eating the hearts of animals, because it would be like eating their fathers' hearts. Wóršo (Tódor) Deméter told Mr. Shaw that they do not eat the hedgehog except as a ceremony or as medicine. After eating it they believe that they become immune from all diseases. It is curious to note that the Turks consider hedgehogs as instruments of magic and forerunners of evil. The authoress of *The People of Turkey* (ii. 239) mentions that spiteful people once threw two into her house, to the great distress of her servants.

The Coppersmiths take off their hats to the new moon and say, *t'el* (= *te avél*) *baχtálo*, a widely observed superstition, of which a form is found also among English Gypsies (*J. G. L. S.*, iv. 268). During a thunderstorm mirrors are turned with their faces to the wall, the Gypsies stop smoking, and dogs are turned out of the tent or house.

When he belches or sneezes a Gypsy says, *Si le géndo pe mándi*, equivalent to the Russian, 'God knows what he is thinking!' and to old Kára Hátí's hope, expressed prophetically to the Hon. Secretary—*Kána tsík désa, kapphenés*, 'I phuri Kára Hátí líperél man.'

When one of the children in London saw a camera standing in the corner of a room he screamed, and afterwards hung back when Mr. Shaw was photographing a group, saying: *léla mo jílo*; but when his mother picked him up and held him he did not seem to mind being taken.

To the well-known legend that, at the Crucifixion, a Gypsy stole one of the four nails,² the Coppersmiths have an ending not usually mentioned, namely, that it is still to be seen where he hid it, referring to the coccyx.

VIII. CUSTOMS

Finding that their great silver buttons were apt to betray their Gypsy nationality, most of the men ceased to wear them in London,

¹ Cf. Deuteronomy xiv. 7, for unclean animals.

² See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 190 (and the authorities there referred to); Groome in *National Life and Thought*, London, 1891, pp. 390-1; Casca's edition of *Koyálniceanu*, Stuttgart, 1840, p. 31; Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, London, 1899, pp. xxvii-xxx.

and even Nikóla and his tribe now disport themselves in ordinary clothes. As compensation for his loss of dignity, Nikóla wears sixteen British sovereigns on his waistcoat, eight on each side, while his sons, the younger Nikóla and Jánko, have bought themselves, at a cost of a thousand francs each, chains of gold weighing half a kilo.

Various Balkan parallels for the use of coins for personal adornment have been quoted in the *Journal*. The Rev. W. Denton¹ found them everywhere in Serbia worn as necklaces and armlets, or bound round the heads, and even decorating the smallest children. At the St. Mark's Day fair, near Belgrade, he saw, what must have been quite a Gypsy-like display, about thirty women dancing, who 'had a head-dress, and a fall reaching down the back to the waist, composed entirely of coins, mostly of silver, but with a few gold ones intermingled. The whole resembled a casque and neck-piece of chain armour. . . . The coins, which were of all ages and to the number of a thousand in each head-dress, must have exceeded in value eighty pounds.' This is interesting, because Mr. Poláček reports that Tinka, wife of the chief Nikóla, and Liza, wife of his eldest son, have silk coats completely covered with three hundred fifty-franc pieces, each coat being thus worth about £600. The authoress of *The People of Turkey* (ii. 118) saw a similar costume worn by a Bulgarian bride in Upper Macedonia, 'a tight mantelet closely studded with silver coins, and hung about with strings of coins intertwined with flowers.' It is worth mentioning that, according to Mr. Poláček, the Hungarian mint still makes large gold coins specially for the use of Gypsies, and for no other purpose.

Nikóla and his party have prospered in South America, and Mr. Poláček complained of the weight of the money they take with them. It is carried in a double sack (*gálav*), made like an old-fashioned purse by joining two sacks at the mouth, and thrown over the shoulder. Nikóla senior has about £6000 in gold, while his son, the younger Nikóla, has about £5000. When living in tents they dig a hole, in which they hide these sacks and their other valuables, covering them with planks (*phala*). In America, however, they gave up tent-life for fear of snakes, and lived in houses.

It seems doubtful whether the Coppersmiths attained even the

¹ *Servia and the Servians* (London, Bell and Daldy), 1862, pp. 99-100, 127, and 173.

somewhat low standard of common honesty with which they have been credited. When visiting theatres or travelling, they always contrived to pass more persons than they had tickets; they did this even on board ship, and all the girls misrepresented their ages and took half-tickets. In London they had a craze for driving in taxi-cabs, using them even for small missions such as going to buy poultry or vegetables, but the driver could not always congratulate himself on his fare. Jántši hired a taxi-cab for the day and paid thirty shillings instead of three pounds. The driver came the next day and protested that his master would dismiss him if he could not recover the balance, but Jántši only shrugged his shoulders and delivered the unconsoling platitude that that was the driver's affair. When in Birkenhead they received three pots for repair from a Liverpool firm of paint manufacturers; to one they added a good new copper bottom, but the other two were vamped with iron. In South America they took advantage of their inability to write by accepting 5000 francs, which was paid in full settlement of their claim, refusing to give a receipt, and then treating the sum as a payment on account, and exacting as much again from the unfortunate hospital which had entrusted them with the work. Moreover, they practised a kind of 'ringing the changes' (*me keráv pal' o vas*) by getting money and pretending to return the whole, while they concealed a part behind or under the hand.

The English Gypsies with whom they camped in Birkenhead believe that the Coppersmiths used to sit up late at night for the purpose of coining false money. They professed to have found counterfeit florins, which were easily bent or broken and did not 'ring,' in the rubbish left by the foreigners when they went away. This probably was a slander, as they were jealous of the wealth of the Coppersmiths.

Perhaps as compensation for these faults, the Coppersmiths religiously observed Friday abstinence, and it may have been as punishment that in Belfast they were misled to buy 'leather oil' in which to cook their fish, in consequence of which they were all seriously ill.

Mr. Poláček brought back several riddles which were in vogue among the 'Greek' Gypsies in South America:—

1. *Oprál mas; telál mas; ándo máškar mórtši.* Flesh above; flesh below; skin in the middle. Answer—A man riding.
2. Thirty-one crows are sitting on a tree; a man shoots one.

How many are left? Answer—None; one is dead and the rest have flown away.

3. In each of the four corners of a room there is a cat looking at three other cats. How many cats are there? The *dilo* is expected to say 'sixteen,' but the answer is, of course, four.

4. Two Gypsies robbed a shop and carried away two casks full of wine, one containing three and the other seven litres. On their way to the camp they found an empty ten-litre cask, which they also appropriated. How did they divide the wine into two equal portions of five litres each, so that each Gypsy should have his fair share? One solution is—

3, 7, 0 : 0, 7, 3 : 3, 4, 3 : 0, 4, 6 : 3, 1, 6 :
0, 1, 9 : 1, 0, 9 : 1, 7, 2 : 3, 5, 2 : 0, 5, 5.

III.—THE NAWAR OR GYPSIES OF THE EAST

By FATHER ANASTĀS, THE CARMELITE

(Translated from the Arabic by Alexander Russell)

(Concluded from Vol. VIII. p. 153)

9. *Their Tricks*

This people is distinguished from the rest of humanity by the multitude of its strange arts. Manifold are their wonderful ways of acting whereby they succeed in deceiving both the inexperienced and the experienced, in former times as traditions witness, and in this present time as the newspapers report to us. Now as to their tricks, knowledge has unexpectedly revealed their real nature. But in past times all the celebrated, learned scholars have mentioned them. Among these is the author of *The Book of the Revelation of Conjectures about the Names of Writings and the Branches of Knowledge*. He says in a chapter, 'The Knowledge of the Sāsānian Craft,' what we quote in his original words : 'Abū 'l-Hair has mentioned it among the principles of the science of witchcraft; he says : "It is a science by which is known the way of deceit in advantageous crimes and success in wealth. He who practises it assumes in every country the appearance peculiar to that country, because the people have confidence in those who have such appearance. So sometimes they disguise themselves as

lawyers, again as preachers, at another time as nobles and so on. Then they practise deceit by cheating ignorant people in matters in the accuracy¹ of which their minds are deficient. Among these is what one relates, viz. that he saw in Boşra an ape on a steed like those on which the sons of kings ride, wearing precious garments like their clothing. It was weeping and wailing, and around it were slaves following it, weeping and saying: 'Oh people of good health, take warning by this lord of ours, for he was the son of a king. He passionately loved a woman, a witch, and by her witchcraft he came to his condition, for he was transformed to the shape of the ape, and she demands great wealth from him for his restoration from this state.' The ape in this condition weeps with groaning and moaning, and the common people take pity on him and weep, and for his sake gather money and the like in large quantity." This story is mentioned also in the *History of Mīrhūnd* and the "Book of the Elect in the lifting of the veils attaining to the revealing of these secrets." Here ends the words of Al-Haj Khalifah.

Among those who have mentioned the craft of the *Beni Sāsān* is the author of the Sāsānian Ode, some verses of which at-Ta'alībī quotes in *Yatīmah-ad-Dahr*. We quote here from it what suits the place and serves our purpose. In it are irregular verses, which we preserve literally. He says:—

Of us are the 'Uṣīrīyūn,² sons of the charge and the attack,
 Of us are the Muṣṭabāniyūn³ who *maizaka*⁴ in captivity,
 Of us are all the *Zamukdān* in the morning bent in the back,
 Of us are all the *Maṭraś*⁵ of the *maklūdah*,⁵ the docked,
 Among the dusty *mudriḡah*,⁶ of us are the lords of dust,
 Of us are all the *ḡannā*⁷ on the Gospel and the book of religious
 law.

¹ عبطيا, a misprint for عبطيا.--R. A. S. M.

² 'Uṣīrīyūn: those who contend on their beasts of burden like the raiders.

³ Muṣṭabāniyūn: a people who say that they have come out from the Greeks, and left their families as pledges with them, so they wander about the country to gather the wherewithal to set them free; and they have with them their hair[?], and that hair is called *muṣṭabān*.

⁴ *maizaka*: to beg.

⁵ *al-Maṭraś*: one whose hand is cut off, and he begs on that excuse; the amputated hand is called *al-maklūdah*.

⁶ *al-mudriḡah*: those who roll themselves up and sleep in the streets and the markets, on the highway, and the path of the winds; and the dust of the earth is on them till mercy is shown them or they are given something.

⁷ *al-ḡannā*: one who reads the Torah and the Gospel and pretends he is a Jew or a Christian, and is a Muslim.

Whoever waters the neighbours with water¹ or the bow of Abu Haḡr,

Whoever *tafsala*² or *zankala*³ or *sattala*⁴ in secret,

Whoever *zakka*⁵ the *saḡātāt*⁶ in the morning and in the afternoon,

Whoever *daśśasa*⁷ or *raśśasa*⁸ or *kaśśasa*⁹,

Who *yuzannaka*¹⁰ or *yuhannika*¹¹ or *yudallaka*¹² as to the *podex*.

Of us are all the *musta'si*¹³ of troublesome clamour,

Whoever *saddada*¹⁴ in speech and whoever puts ashes on himself in the *kaṣr*,¹⁵

Whoever *yazra'a* in the *hādūr*¹⁶ *takṣihān*¹⁷ from the seed

That the *tanbal*¹⁸ may fall in the reaping of caution.

¹ Those who give people to drink, and if a neighbour (?) stops, he says: 'I am a chief of Baṭṭah' [between Buṣrah and Wasit]. Some of these have an Arab [reading عربية for عردية] bow. The first who did that among house-dwellers was Abu Haḡr.

² *tafsala*: one who hangs his tongue, imitating the Bedawin.

³ *zankala*: one of great ingenuity in plundering.

⁴ *sattala*: one who feigns blindness, though he can see. The one who feigns blindness is called *al-isfil*.

⁵ *zakka*: one who prays.

⁶ *saḡātāt*: the mosques, and the singular is *saḡatah*; they beg in them when people pray.

⁷ *daśśasa*: the likeness of porridge appears in *podice eius* [apparently to counterfeited some disease].

⁸ *raśśasa*: one who sprinkles people with his water.

⁹ *kaśśasa*: one who makes a neighbourhood disagreeable with vile odours, and they give him something to make him go away.

¹⁰ *yuzannaka*: one who bores a hole in his body and blows into it till his body is swollen up.

¹¹ *yuhannik*: one who places a napkin on his own neck and twists it till his head and face are swollen.

¹² *yudallik*: one who walks *podice nudo*.

¹³ *musta'si*: people who go round about the doors of houses about cooking-time and say, 'May God have mercy on whoever gives supper to the hungry stranger,' and they shout this until they receive from every house a piece of bread and return with it.

¹⁴ *saddada*: people who have with them manuscript books of stories they relate, and who accuse persons of vileness and wine-bibbing.

¹⁵ *kaṣr* is the brick-kiln which one of the people enters and flings himself into the ashes; then he comes out with the dust of the ashes upon him, and pretends that he took shelter in it because of the strength of the cold and the lack of clothing.

¹⁶ *yazra'a fīl-hādūr*: folk who look into fate, augury, and the stars, and give people money to come to them, and they ask them about their star and about what they have in it; so they look for them, then they refuse them the money, and often they take it and say, 'We do not take it because thy star has not come out as thou didst desire.' *Hādūr*: the word for the ring in which they assemble the people.

¹⁷ *takṣihān*: the prohibited.

¹⁸ *tanbal*: a fool who accepts false miracles [i.e. tricks of sleight of hand, etc.] and is deceived by what the astrologer offers him; who also brings out his money greedily, so that he [the astrologer] takes it from him and scoffs at him.

We have now set forth enough of the tricks of these people, quoting from the *Yatimah ad-Dahr*, and whoever desires thorough knowledge of it, let him seek it there. This and most of the tricks mentioned exist to this day in some quarters and marts of Bagdād and at the entrance of the mosques, among the things that strike every witness with wonder.

10. *Their Culture, Morals and Habits*

There is no need to particularize in the description of the culture of this people. It is so well known that it does not call for description. It is, however, right to complete every subject, that the student may be able to say that he has received it in its entirety. We refer here to the part that cannot be omitted.

The first thing for which the *Beni Sāsān* are famous is theft, in all its varieties—plunder, swindling, and cattle-stealing. To this they train their children, male and female, from earliest infancy. For this purpose they stay in the outskirts of the town, in order that they may be able to steal, and at the same time remain unknown. The special things which they principally steal are all sorts of garments, clothing, personal ornaments, money, and beasts of burden. When the amount stolen is of small value, the thief remains among the families of his friends, but if the matter is a thing of importance he separates from his people with some of his friends and pitches his tent in a place distant from them, or he rolls up the carpet of the abode entirely by himself or along with his tribe, reaching distant countries by night journeys. Children, and especially males, are among the things which they covet in theft; so very many little ones disappear, nor is a trace of them found. These wicked outlaws are the cause of the pangs of parents, and cause them grief that does not cease day and night.

Under this heading comes the making of spurious money and the counterfeiting of it, and in this respect they are the cleverest of all the clever ever created. They are not met with in the country places, but in the town markets they are a perfect pest.

In the matter of chastity, there is not a sign of this virtue among these rude people, whatever pretenders assert and the biased plead on their behalf. When we know the character of the morals of these base people in this respect, the froth of the pen dries up from shame, and respectable people shrink from

searching into all these disgraceful things. It is essential that neither the main part nor the whole of it be omitted, so let us mention here what is allowable of these customs.

Firstly, all we say is that these low people attain every known vice, rendering this excellent, lotty, royal life unseemly. They commit what thought does not imagine, and what does not come into the mind of man. This is enough from the basin of the billows of this stinking, filthy sea, which one does not approach without suffering noxious evil from it. Among the things lawful for us to say is the fact that the vileness of this rabble has reached a limit which has driven many of the educated Moslems of 'Irāk to say that the female children of the *Kāuliyaḥ* are not born virgins. This alone is an indication to you of what is behind this veil in the violation of the reverence of purity. When a daughter has reached the age of puberty, her father puts her to debauchery or what is near it, and they act likewise with the young lads. Often households sell their children, male and female, to seducers or travellers or those who make a living by an immoral life. When such is the case, how is it possible that these wretches can grow up to other than love of immorality and lewdness? Add to that that the single house or single tent, which does not exceed two or three metres in length by a metre or a metre and a half in breadth, is occupied by one or two families,¹ whose numbers amount to ten. When the family cannot put their children to debauchery and abuse, instead of this unlawful trade they teach them playing on lutes, music, song, and such-like. They send them out on all occasions, forcing them to gather money, unlawful or lawful in any sort of circumstances.

Among the things for which the low Gypsies are celebrated is that from them come the most of the male and female dancers.² The people who practise these arts offer the strongest indication of the corruption of the people from whom they come out. It is not to be imagined that only the *Kāuliyaḥ* who are in 'Irāk practise dancing and singing; this is their business in every country God has made, as I have verified in countries I have travelled in, and as I have learned also in what Europeans have written on this subject. One of the latter has mentioned what

¹ A lengthy lexicographical note giving numerous quotations to justify the author in the use of the word *عائلات* is omitted.—R.

² Lexicographical note on the word *السمار* (low dancer) is omitted.—R.

we quote in translation : 'Bands, both male and female, delight people by music and song. Crowds of their singers go on foot to St. Petersburg, where they meet with the finest reception. Their native songs are as though abridged from the matter of the Spanish Gypsy songs. The learned Viardot has said of these songs that there are fragments and sections in which loss and grief are abundant, which resemble the poems known as *polos* and *tiranias* in the land of Andalusia ; and others in which there is brisk cheerfulness, and the excitement and lightness of emotion, of the class known as *seguidillas* in La Mancha and *jota* in Aragon. Concerning the movements and melodies of these songs, they are successive, following one after the other, coming one by one, in any order. The women, both old and young, dance, or say rather drag themselves along the solid ground, shaking their forearms, their shoulders, their hips, and the whole of their body in a strange shaking, along with shameless movements, gradually making them like the dancers ; then a kind of ecstasy or intoxication overcomes them. In Russia as in Spain, musical accompaniment is used for the song and the dance.'

With regard to these tribes, in spite of the remoteness of their dwellings, the distance of their visits, and the number of their tribes in all quarters, where one people does not know of the existence of people of other kinds in other countries, yet you see that their conditions and mode of life, and methods of earning their livelihood, is noticed in accounts of them for these last two hundred years.

11. *Their Religion*

These peoples have no religion, but in every country they make a show of the religion current in it, or of the belief honoured among its inhabitants. This does not prevent them having certain ceremonies or rites which they observe in some social matters, as birth, marriage, death, burial and such-like. As to such things, man is driven to them, because he frames by them some rule in domestic life or because they cut the familiar rope of life, and the familiarity of daily manners. But these rites are not of a single uniformity among them in all countries, but vary with their differences and the varieties of the people among whom they live, and the differences of their religions and rites. This is one of the things that show you that they are not bound by the bond of religion : if they had anything of the sort why should their customs

vary, as all who have studied the subject minutely bear witness? Therefore, whoever claims them as being Moslems in the countries of Islam and Christians in Christian lands is in obvious error, for they rely upon appearances in their statements and do not look beneath the surface.¹

12. *Their Employments, Arts, and Occupations*

The employments of the *Beni Sāsān* vary in different abodes and countries, and of these we mention here what space allows. Every tribe has two kinds [of occupation], domestic work, and their employment among the people with whom they mix. The arts of the *Ḳaratch* are sieve- and riddle-making, and the breeding of asses. The *Muṭriba* make swords, daggers, and knives, and among them are burnishers, blacksmiths, makers of iron implements, and tanners of tin vessels. The crafts of the *Ḡannugānah* are smithery, carpentry, burnishing, and the making of *kubn* (the *kubnah* or *chubnah* is a cloak of felt). The *Kāuliyah*, in the districts of *Zāhū*, alone among the *Beni Sāsān*, love agriculture (the most important of their crops are corn and tobacco) and the breeding of cattle and domestic fowls.

As to the *Kāuliyah* of *Irāk* and the country of the Bedawin, their crafts are the making of sieves, riddles, and tents, the twisting of ropes, the weaving of cloth, and the tinning of vessels, and iron-workers and carpenters are found among them. All the *Sāsāniyah* of Persia in their different tribes make sieves and iron implements, rough in workmanship. Some of them are cattle-breeders. The Gypsies of Syria and the *Ḡaḡar* of Egypt know no arts except a trifle like the making of sieves and riddles, and they have some knowledge of veterinary work.

But the *Sāsāniyah* of Europe and in Hungary busy themselves entirely with ironwork, and have a knowledge of cattle-breeding. They engage in horse-dealing, and in the sale of these beasts of burden they have a wonderful skill in temporarily con-

¹ In *At-Ṭabīb* (first year, 1884-5) occurs the following (p. 172): 'It is said that there is no word in their language by which to express "God, Most Great, Most High," nor "soul," and, strange to say, that they have no words for the numerals except from one to seven, so when they wish to express what is above that they take the loan from other languages.' But the name of the Almighty with them is *Déoul*, which is derived from *Deus* or *θεός*, both of which are from a Sanskrit root *Dev* or *Dew*. (See *Al-Masriḳ*, vol. iii. p. 681.) The noun for 'the soul' is *ḡān* and they can express the numbers. The Bible has been translated into their tongue by the zeal of a Protestant in the interests of conversion to their sect.

cealing their blemishes. Among them many know carpentry and moulding, and they have a strong aversion to tilling and sowing the soil.

In Transylvania, Wallachia, and Baġdān [Bulgaria?] the inhabitants choose them for washing and refining gold. In Spain some of them keep inns, lodgings,¹ and dining-rooms, and make good profit from them. They are widely spread in Castile and Aragon, La Mancha, Estremadura, and especially in Andalusia, where they are reckoned by the thousands. In Saragossa the king of the Gitanos is established, whom they choose by election. They are in great numbers in some quarters of Valencia, Murcia, the suburbs of Triana and Seville, and the outskirts of the Brick Gate of Cadiz. Among the cities in which they are numerous is Moscow, and especially at the back of the river of Moscow, where they swarm. The Gypsies of Russia have preserved completely the appearance and character of the Gypsies of Andalusia; especially among the women, for they all wear the cloak of the kind known among the ancients by the name of *peplum*, which is woven from cotton and silk, and is fastened upon the shoulders. The resemblance of the Gypsies of Russia to the Gypsies of Spain in manners and customs emphasizes their resemblance to them in the features and the shape of the face.

The Gypsies of Russia live in tribes known by the name of *tābōr*, and at their head is one whom they choose by election, and their gains in everything are shared between them. The able-bodied people feed the children, the old men, and the sick. The more important employments of their men are trading in horses and rambling about with furniture for houses and in the markets. Outside the crafts mentioned they possess no skill.

Among the employments which are likely to be general among all the *Sāsāniyah* of the East and the West is the looking into omens, auguries, stars, and the flights and tracks [of birds], and the healing of horses, or farriery, by the suspending of amulets or of charms upon them. Their women sell *ġa'āġir* (plural of *ġu'ġurrah*), which are made from dough like images, which they dry in the air and place in fruit-juice when they are cooked. They say to whoever purchases these *ġa'āġir* that, if he eat them or carry them, he will obtain his desire, and especially when the purpose is the bringing of one person close to another. All of

¹ Lexicographical note on the word *التوي* is omitted.—R.

them apply themselves to different kinds of playing, singing, and music, wandering around in the lanes, streets, and the approaches to villages, to bring loud noises and female performers and dancing to the people. At most times there is some sort of instrument of music and song in their hands, and they are almost always engaged in producing the music, testing its modulations, and striking their melodies and accompaniments, till it is said that a number of them together attains a considerable height in song, music, and playing. The voices of their women are sad and beautiful.

They are all wanderers; they do not like staying in one place the whole year, but they wander in the country, taking with them all their possessions, which means horse-cloths, cloaks, rags, and tools used daily. But some of the *Sāsāniyah* are exceptions to this rule, for among them are some who have built splendid dwellings, raised inhabited castles, and acquired excellent thorough-bred horses and numbers of fine handsome carts, till they are just like the native Russians or indwelling strangers.

13. *Their Appearance in Europe and the Views of the Europeans on their Origin*

We have mentioned in the earlier part of this essay that the appearance of the Gypsies in European lands, according to the more general view, was after Tamerlane's conquest of India, or about the year 1397 A.D. It is likely to be the view of all investigating scholars; but this statement does not oppose their appearance in all these countries in small numbers before their migration to them in combined thousands. This is confirmed by what occurs in a poem a German monk composed in the year 1122, the subject of which is the book of the Creation, and in which there is mention of these people by way of digression.

Among the views considered as to the cause of their migration to European countries, is the statement of some of them that it was not pressure that crushed them before Tamerlane, but that the Gypsies are in origin one of the inferior tribes of India, for example from the class of the Pariahs, and chose banishment for themselves for the good of pleasure.¹ Those who hold this view support their assertion upon the fact that the customs and habits of the nomadic Gypsies are entirely inconsistent with the real law established in the Hindu religions. Among those is the eating of

¹ Apparently meaning to improve their position or circumstances, or something of the kind.—R. A. S. M.

the flesh of animals that have died with marks of disease. Captain David Richardson has adopted the opinion that the Gypsies are really *Bazigours*, a tribe of Hindus whose usual and well-known name is *Nouts*. But he was in error.

All writers assert that the Tsiganes were in Europe before the time which most people generally imagine. They say that the Tsiganes were known in those distant past ages by the name *Sigyntes*, whom Herodotus mentions in his history,¹ or *Siginnes*, as is mentioned in the history of Strabo,² and in Apollonius.³ Herodotus and Apollonius place these peoples on the bank of the Tuna (Danube), but Strabo places them at the base of the mountains of Kabk [Caucasus]. Historians who agree with the ancients in this opinion assert that the greater frequency of reference to the Tsiganes in Europe about the fifteenth century is due to the greater increase of the migration in that century than in others; an indication of the conquests of the Turks, who expelled them on all sides and treated them very harshly.

Whatever their origin, their dispersion to-day in the whole earth is a certainty. Nor is America an exception to this, for they are there also, living in proper tribes peculiar to themselves, and choosing for their life a manner different from that of the Gypsies of other countries. There is established among them a queen by the name of Matilda II. This was in or about the year 1888.

But with regard to the persecutions, the dust of which is traced in their faces, there are stories about them not exaggerated. They were severely persecuted in the Mediterranean countries, but that suffering did not diminish their numbers, but scattered them and increased their dispersion. They are especially numerous in Hungary and the Slavonic countries, and those close to them.

The Franks considered the Gypsies in the Mediterranean countries to be, on the whole, Egyptians, and from this comes their name Gypsies among the English, as we have shown above. Moreover, exiles from these peoples came to Paris in the year 1427, the number of whose company was 120 Gypsies. They claimed that they were Christians of Egypt, and that they were forsaking their homes because of their enemies. A French writer of that day has described them, and, in brief, what he has said about them

¹ Herodotus, v. 9.—R.

² Strabo, ii. 258.—R.

³ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, iv. 320.—R.

is as follows: 'Their ears were pierced and they had suspended from them rings of silver. Their hair was as black as coal and curly, and their women in the utmost degree filthy. They engage in star-gazing and fortune telling, and they do not put their hands to anything except to steal it. So the Bishop of Paris banished them, and excommunicated those who enquired of them. It is said that in their vanguard were two nobles, one of them a duke and the other a count, and along with them were ten horsemen. The rest were in the encampment of the servants. They asserted that they had confessed about their lot before Pope Martin v., and that he imposed upon them wandering for seven years, in which they should atone for their crimes, and neither have a lasting abode nor sleep in a bed. So men were driven to look at them, wondering at their appearance, and to enquire of them about their future.'

Pope Pius II. (died in 1464) mentions them and says: 'They are one of the robber peoples; their habit is going round and wandering about in European countries. Their name is Tsiganes; they are from nomads from Zühûri, that is, the mountains of Kabk [Caucasus].'

The Gypsies themselves say they migrated from Egypt to journey on the earth as an atonement for their sin, which was that they received not kindly the arrival of the holy Joseph and the Virgin Mary when they came to Egypt. Another penance of theirs is said to be because they were Christians and denied their religion, and the Pope passed sentence upon them that they should wander about the world, as a penance for enormities they committed. Such are the weak, empty claims to which they appeal to impose upon the inexperienced, and to increase their respect in the eyes of their hosts, to draw forth the favour of self-interest and to make them compliant in supporting them. Thus the French treated them in the beginning, and they stayed in their country a while. Then, when the Government saw their laziness, the wickedness of their behaviour and their vile habits, they issued orders far and wide at successive times, giving plain directions for their banishment from their country. So they were driven to distant places and deserts, and likewise to other countries, wandering as the centuries passed.

We must now in conclusion, for the reader's benefit, give some details of the theories about the origin of these peoples. Some authors consider that they are remnants of the sect known by the

name of *Atingants*, who were heretics from the Greek Christians. Some think they are Persian Magians, and others say that they come from a tribe of nomads in Persia, whom Hafiz, the celebrated Persian poet, has mentioned. In his time they are called *Lūlī*; they are noted for dancing and singing. An opinion is held that they are from *Sikān*, one of the states of Africa known by the name of Zengitania, and from that their name is corrupted in several forms, varying between *Zingānah*, *Ġinkānah*, *Zingāri*, *Ġingāri*. Some assert that they are deserters from the army of the state of Morocco. It has been asserted that they are from *Singar*, from the land of Mesopotamia, and some writers hold as true that they are a remnant of the *Ziches* from the inhabitants of Palus, still known among the Arabs by the sea of *Māntās* [the Black Sea]. Some say that the word *Tsinganes* or *Tsiganener* is a corruption of the word *Šarkīyin* (Saracens) (how lavish they are with their knowledge!), and that they belong to the desperate foes of the Franks. Some writers hold theories other than these, but all of them are very extraordinary, such as would not readily occur to the mind. They say, for example, that they are of the remnant of Canaanites whom Joshua, son of Nun, drove out, so they scattered in every direction. Some trustworthy authors say that the *Tchingānah* are Cushites, who are from the loins of Cush mentioned in the Old Testament.¹ But the celebrated D'Herbelot asserts that they are a tribe of Zangibār. But we know that, if we go on with the mention of all the assertions about this subject, the reader will weary in its search. They are all vain and absurd on the face of them.

We may say further that some maintain that they are like the Dervishes, or that they are of the remnant of Attila's Huns, or the Avars, etc., etc. There is no end to it.

Of these conflicting views and far-fetched ideas, the true one, 'is that which we cited in the beginning of this article, namely that they are a mixture of low nomads of Indians, Persians, and Kurds, as we have affirmed by pure historical arguments, proofs of idiomatic clearness, and irrefutable, clear statements of tradition. But though these nomads were branches growing from one root, and this the Aryan root, for some of them the notation as one branch rather than another is convenient. But the careful investigator and the inquiring student knows his lost sheep wherever he sees it, and rejoices at it wherever he meets it.

¹ Genesis x. 6, 7. — R.

It will not be amiss to adduce additional evidence to strengthen and support the theory which we maintain as a conclusion to this section of the investigation. One of the proofs which indicate to us that they contain certain of the peoples of India or Sind, in addition to the proofs which we have put forward already, is the fact that there are found in these countries to this day tribes and peoples known by various names (*Bazigours, Pončipiris, Correwas*, etc.), whose complexions are like those of the Gypsies, and whose language is identical with theirs. Among the proofs indicating to us that there are Kurds among them is the fact that the Gypsies call themselves, as we have said, *Roma*, plural of *Rom*, the meaning of which is 'men' (as opposed to 'women'), and 'life in full vigour from men.' You know that this expression has been used among the Kurds from ancient times, and it is still to this day used among them with the meaning 'strong men' or 'men' generally, or 'vigorous life from such men.' But they ascribe a wide range of meanings to this word, indicating by it men generally or tribes; and they connect with it two forms, one of them being singular *Rōm* or *Rōm*, plural *Rōma* or *Rōma*, which is the ordinary form of Kurdish plural; the other is *Rōmān* or *Rōmān*, which is formed according to the Persian manner. Marvel not when we tell you that the Arabs have a word *Rumm* with this meaning. The *Tag* says in the 'Corrigenda' (under the heading *rmm*): '*Ar-Rumm*, a party of men. In the story of Ziyad ibn Hadu, "so I relied on a *rumm* of the Kurds," that is, "a company of the encampment" like the "tribe" of the Arabs. Abū Mūsa says, "It is a Persian noun."' Yaḳūt says in the *Description of the Countries*: '*Rumm*, plural *Rumūm*; the translation of *Rumūm* is "the halting-place of the Kurds"; it denotes their place of encampment in Persian, hence in Persian it means "a place."'¹

One of the rational proofs of the existence of scattered Persians and others among the Gypsies is the fact that these nomads are numerous in those lands, and they continue to this day speaking the language of the Gypsies. They travel from there to Russia, and thence to Europe northwards or to Kurdistan, thence to our Ottoman country on the flanks and on the west. Their features, complexions, and language differ in nought from those of other Gypsies.

To what precedes, add that the Gypsies adopt for themselves numerous varied names, which vary with the countries where

¹ More properly 'pasturage.'—R. A. S. M.

they encamp, as we have noted in the beginning of this essay. Among the names which we have not mentioned are *Kola*, a word meaning 'black slave,' and *Sinte*, which is a corruption of *Sind*,—an obvious corruption. Their name among the Persians is *Siyah Hindū*, meaning 'Black Hindus.' In addition to these are some we have not mentioned, like *Harāci*, *Kalbūrsaz*, and *Tāḡū*, in the neighbourhood of Ispahān.

14. *The Form of Society among them, their Social Life,
and their Chiefs*

These people, wherever they encamp and wherever they roam, have at the head of every tribe or company of them a chief whom they elect and to whose command they submit. In 'Irāk they call him Seyid or Šaiḥ, and in Syria Abū Nā'is, which is a corruption of Nā'isah, the meaning of which is 'the helpers' and 'the defenders.' By these bynames they call their master and head, and in European countries Voïvode, a word of Slavonic origin, meaning 'the judge, commander, chief, leader, shaikh.' All the chiefs of the tribes are subject to a most powerful head, whom in Persia they call 'the Shah,' and in the country of the Arabs 'the King.' In European countries the king is indicated by European names. The head or sovereign is a female if a woman should unite in herself all the good qualities expected in him with whom are found the insignia of chieftains. Hence the Gypsies of England acknowledged as sovereign, in the year 1860, a woman called Queen Esther Faa.

The head of every company or tribe is known at the first glance you let fall upon him; for in most of the tribes he is corpulent, stout, with a long belt, bright of eye, turning much to right and left, owing to his exceeding vigilance and watchfulness, handsome in dress, and on his shoulder is a long whip. To the chief belongs a portion of everything his followers and his servants steal, and when there is brought to him news of a theft or its intention, and the crime is proved against its author or its committer, he issues orders about him, and he is punished and whipped cruelly with this whip. This is inflicted not as a punishment of his theft, but because he did not commit the theft properly, or disclose the thing stolen when it was carefully sought.

Further, is the state of these people to be of this sort, or is it expected of them that they become civilized, or profess religion, or

improve in circumstances? No, by Him who preserves thee. But the final impediment in the path of their progress is their natures, in which are roughness, harshness, treachery, and craftiness, such as no one can describe, and to which no one can impose a limit. Governments, therefore, wage constant war upon them to get rid of the disgrace of them, and issue orders for their destruction or their ruin. But the Sublime Porte looks upon them with the eye of pity and contempt, and does not condescend to issue orders deciding their removal, but, on the contrary, from pity takes no tax from them, nor receives a complaint of any one against them, for they do the work of beasts of burden. What it does is well.

Among those exempt from these troubles are the Gypsies of England. When they came to England, they were greatly avoided and feared; then the place became better for them, so the Government granted them gifts and special privileges, till their king in Edinburgh, called George Smith, dared to oppose a measure passed by the English Government in 1891.¹

In that country there is a learned Society for the Gypsies, called the Society of Gypsy Lore, established in 1888, and its members have an authoritative Journal which they publish for the good of their people. When we have excluded these, the statement is true that the Gypsies are a rabble people, whom the wise man knows first of all, however their names are varied, because there remain after them evil tracks, according to the rule which says: 'These our footprints point to us, so look after us to the footprints.'

[It is obvious that this article has not the value ascribed to it by the late A. T. Sinclair (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 210). Much of the matter, especially that on the language, seems to be taken from antiquated books, and Father Anastās, like George Smith of Coalville, confuses all the riff-raff of his country with the genuine Roma.—R.]

¹ Rather a quaint way of stating the fact that George Smith was spokesman for the Gypsies in their opposition to the 'Moveable Dwellings Bill.'—See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 123.—R.

IV.—TOM TAYLOR'S ANGLO-ROMANI VOCABULARY

By ALEXANDER RUSSELL

THE article on Tom Taylor in the *Dictionary of National Biography* makes no mention of his Gypsy studies, but there is sure evidence that, in addition to dramatist, editor, litterateur and Government official, he was *aficionado* as well. I have in my possession his copy of Pott with his autograph on the fly-leaf; on the margins of the first volume are written, apparently in the same handwriting, about a dozen Romani words followed in each case by *E.g.*, which I take to mean 'English Gypsy.' Further, we know from Groome that Taylor corresponded with him on Romani matters,¹ and, though Groome does not mention Taylor as the author of the three articles reprinted by him in his *In Gipsy Tents* from *The Illustrated London News*, he says in the preface of that book, 'the author of *Gipsy Experiences* died whilst its reprint was passing through the press,' and 1880 was the year of Taylor's death. Dr. Sampson also in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 4, refers to these articles as Taylor's. The doubt as to Taylor's authorship is probably due to the reference to his own drama. 'And among stage plays, the only one in which I have ever seen the Gipsy introduced, with evidence of a real life-like knowledge of the race, is in a version of *Sir Roger de Coverley*, played at the Olympic Theatre during the present year.'² This is quite on a par with Scott's quotation of his own poetry in his novels while he was still the 'Great Unknown.'

The Romani words given in Taylor's sketches are our main concern here, but, as they are not presented in a formal vocabulary, but given as scraps of conversation in a picturesque setting, we must first consider the latter for the light it throws on Taylor's reliability and accuracy as a Romani recorder.

The *Experiences* profess to be real, not imaginary nor imaginative. 'My own experiences of Gipsy life are confined to this country. They profess to be, and are, real experiences. My Gipsies are genuine. My Gipsy women are not the Gipsy women of the theatre; they do not wear short red petticoats, worked at the bottom with black cabalistic signs, still less stockings or antique sandals on their feet, or turbans on their heads; nor are

¹ Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. xvii.² *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 323.

they called "Zarah" or "Zillah."''¹ We shall see shortly that in this matter of genuineness 'he doth protest too much.' The experiences were described fully twelve years after they occurred (p. 325), and if Taylor copied his Romani words from his early notes, he had not made much advance in his Romani studies during the interval, or he would have discovered that *sullivan-dras* means 'bridle' and not 'saddle.'

We propose to consider three separate details which seem inaccurate or, at least, open to question.

1. Taylor's Gypsies eat snail-soup. This article of Romany diet is mentioned also by Smart and Crofton, Leland, and Morwood, but it is not absolutely clear whether the broth is eaten or only the snails. Leland² states that the snails are eaten and that the broth is used for medicinal purposes. Morwood's account is similar.³ Smart and Crofton are quite indefinite.⁴ Our. Hon. Secretary writes: 'Every Gypsy I have seen insists that snail-soup is poisonous—you can eat the snails themselves, but not the liquid they are cooked in,' while Mr. T. W. Thompson informs me that some Gypsies certainly drink the snail-broth as well as eat the snails. In this connexion it is worthy of note that Groome's auditors make remarks on the manner of cooking the hedgehog, but find no fault with the snail-soup.

2. Taylor's Gypsies, though running from the police, leave all their *patrins* by the roadside, and the police are able to follow them. Now, no doubt, most Gypsies believe that *gáje* would be unable to detect and interpret a *patrin*, but still we are not surprised when John Roberts remarks: 'And Romani Chals are sometimes foolish too, but they'd never go leaving marks like that what way they took, and not giving satisfaction, or else getting clearer from where they done the drokraben.'⁵

3. The third point is the most important, as it has been repeated so often that there is danger of its being accepted as an established fact. We have even seen it used recently in support of other highly problematical matters.⁶ Taylor's Gypsy heroine was tattooed. 'On each side of her little mouth, and in the centre of her soft round chin, was a small blue tattoo mark, which heightened the mellow and velvety smoothness of her skin—dusky, but not sallow, and glowing under the sun like the

¹ *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 323. ² *English Gypsies*, p. 32. ³ *Our Gypsies*, p. 129.

⁴ *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 198 (f.n.).

⁵ *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 372.

⁶ *J. G. L. S.*, vii. 72.

side of a brown Bergamot pear.'¹ No other writer mentions a tattooed English Gypsy, and what living student of Gypsies has seen one? True, a greater Sinf—the real heroine of *Aylwin*—had 'little tattoo rosettes at the corners of her mouth,' and Rhona Boswell possessed

'Love-lips (with one tattoo "for dukkerin") tanned
By sunny winds that kiss them as you stand.'

These tattoo marks seem to have taken Watts-Dunton's fancy, as he mentions them again in that well-known note in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 120, which is twice quoted by MacRitchie as evidence. We have ample proof that Asiatic and African Gypsies both tattoo and are tattooed, but for the tattooing of Western-European Gypsies there is absolutely no reliable evidence at all. With the possible exception of the Gypsies who visited Paris in 1427, the cases discussed in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 251, can be reduced to the two we are dealing with here, that of Taylor, who is writing twelve years after he saw the person he describes, and that of Watts-Dunton, who gives no particulars, and may only be re-echoing Taylor. If Taylor, then, never saw a tattooed Gypsy, whence did he obtain this detail? There is one clue on page 336: 'Indeed, I might have fancied myself in Syria,² looking on the slender little body, with its Eastern head-gear, its bright-coloured gown, loose upon the bosom, which was covered by two or three layers of red and yellow and green spotted handkerchiefs; the lower limbs gathered under, and crossed, and the upper part of the figure lying lazily back against the pile of bedding, which, under its covering of a gaudy carpet, might have passed muster for a divan.' We need not infer from this that Taylor ever visited Syria—there is no mention of such a journey in Charles Kent's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—he may have in his mind pictures of Oriental women in some book of travel.

Remembering, then, the long interval between his first Romani lesson and the writing of these articles, we may grant that they are not the first impressions of the adventure described, and that the Romani words used are not taken straight from his first note-book. He admits (p. 324) that he had compared Borrow's English Gypsy vocabulary with the spoken Romani, and I have shown above that he knew Pott. In addition to the three articles

¹ In *Gipsy Tents*, p. 329.

² Cf. the quotation from Seetzen in Leland's *English Gipsies*, p. 194, and the pictures in the illustrated edition of Lane's *Modern Egyptians*; also the quotation from Seetzen in Pott, i. 76, probably the very source of Taylor's tattooed Gypsy.

discussed above, which appeared under the pseudonym of 'Roumany Rei,' there was a short article five years later in the same newspaper, entitled 'The Roumany Chai or Gipsies.'¹ This is also ascribed to Taylor, and, according to Dr. Black's *Bibliography*, was reprinted separately at Bath, in 1870, by J. and J. Keene, but this reprint I have not seen. It is worth noting that the spellings used in the 1851 articles show more sign of continental influence than those of the little paper of 1856. It is natural that words written on the margins of Pott should tend to be assimilated to the forms of that author, but no trustworthy student would mark them 'English Gypsy,' unless he had actually heard them from the lips of English Romané. Words in which we must suspect the influence of books are *bash*, a fiddle (1856), beside *bosh* (1851); *chukel*, dog (1851); *churro*, head (1851), beside *shurro* (1851); *stadyeh*, hat (with *Mouillirung*); *tshar*, ashes (1851); *tshuma*, a kiss (1851), beside *chuma*, to kiss (1856); *tumbo*, tambourine (1851); the vocative *cokko*, and the spellings *boshadha*, *pukhar*, and *hoknapans*.

Taylor has two remarks on the language generally which we may here quote: '[Romani] is a genuine language, in that state of mutilation which a language must fall into when transmitted orally only, in the hands of an entirely illiterate people' (p. 325); and again '[Sinti] generally used her words (as the Romané all do) as roots, without inflection, interspersed with English. Occasionally I could detect an inflection in the concrete of a sentence, and I was careful to note these' (p. 335). See vocabulary under *jin*. Taylor's system of spelling is somewhat erratic. *Ch* represents *sh*, *j* and *tsh* (which last is also used): examples—*churro*, *chukel*, *chais*, *chavi*, *chikli*, *chiv*, *chore*, *chuma*, *tshar*, *tshuma*. The vowel *ā* is represented by *a* (*vado*), by *ah* (*raht*); *ē* is represented by *a* (*adra*), by *ai* (*telai*); *ī* by *e* (*bibbe*, *gruvne*, *mande*, *rincne*), by *ee* (*ticknee*), by *i* (*bori*, *chikli*). The dull sound *a* appears as *ar* (*cushgar*), *er* (*crumer*, *doster*), and *a* (*gorja*, *vafardes*); *ō* as *o* (*doster*, *consas*); *ū* as *ou* (*vellgouris*, *moulo*) and as *u* (*chukel*). while *au* is represented by *ou* in *bourri*; *ai* by *ei* (*grei*, *nei*); *au* by *au* (*maur*); *ē* by *eh* (*nanieh*); and *e* by *ei* (*keir*).

The Romani words in Taylor's four printed articles are here gathered together and arranged alphabetically along with those from the margins of Pott. Page-numbers from Groome are given

¹ Did he think that *Roumany chai* means 'Gypsies'? Cf. the vocabulary below s.v. *chais*.

in the case of words in the papers reprinted by him: words from Taylor's copy of Pott are indicated in the notes: all other forms are from the 1856 article.

VOCABULARY

- adra*, in : 337. [Perhaps to be pronounced *adré*. See *adri*.]
adri, in : 342. [S. and C. *adré*.]
adri, on : 332. [Silvanus *loquitur* (Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 332 f.n.) "chiv it *adré*!" Well, I never did hear the likes of that. I expect she said, "chiv it *opré*," and he mistook the word.]
ari, away : 350. [S. and C. *arri*.]
bash, fiddle (sb.). [The usual Anglo-Romani form is *bosh*, which is given below.]
bash-ingro, fiddler. See *boshengri*.
beng, devil : 341; *beng's*, devil's : 337, 341.
[besh-], to sit : *besh-to-lai*, lie down : 328; *besh-telai*, sit down [written in Taylor's handwriting on the margin of p. 83 of vol. i. of Pott]. See *boshadha*.
bibbe, aunt : 344. [To be read *bibi*.]
bok, luck : 349.
bori, great; *bori hokani*, great trick : 349, 355, 356, 357. [Feminine form, but used commonly by English Gypsies without any sense of gender.]
bosh, fiddle (sb.) : 341. See *bash*.
boshadha, [saddle]. [On p. 126 of Pott, alongside of Harriott's forms *boshito* and *boshka*. Corruption of the past participle of *besh-*, to sit.]
boshengri, fiddle-player. [On p. 51 of Pott. S. and C.'s *bóshomēngro* is a more correct form, being genit. plur. of noun of action from vb. *bosh-*, 'to fiddle,' and meaning 'he of the fiddlings.']. See *bashengro*.
bourri, [snail]: *bourri-zimmins*, snail-soup : 340, 342, 344, 346, and in the 1856 article.
c. See also *k*.
chais, girls : 347, 350.
chavi, daughter : 337.
chikli, dirty : 337.
chiv, put : 332, 337.
chore, steal : 337. [One syllable.]
chukel, dog : 328, 331, 342. [Cf. Bright's form *chuquil*, and Borrow's Spanish-G. form *chuquel*. The initial sound is better represented in the more usual spelling *jukel*.]
chuma, to kiss. See *tshuma*.
churro. See *shurro*.
cokko, uncle : 344. [A correct vocative.]
colas, things : 341. [S. and C. *kólla*. Originally the plur. or the oblique of the demonstrative adjective *kora*, this.]
com, like (vb.) : 340. See *kom*.
congee, [moon]. [On p. 88 of Pott, alongside of Harriott's form *chung*.]
consas, camping corners : 350. [S. and C. *koínsus*.]
crumner, a bit : 340. [Eng. 'crumb.' The *er* is probably a corruption of the Eng. 'of.']
Curraple, Smith : 329, 333. [For references to this name see *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 244.]
cushgar, beautiful : 331, 332, 333; good, 334, 349; *cushgar bok*, good luck : 350; *cushgar divus*, good day : 351; *cushgar poshwekes*, beautiful handkerchief : 331, 332, 366. [For the termination compare *doster*.]
del, give : 332, 333.
dia, mother : 333. [The *i* has the same sound as the name of the letter.]
dik, look : 344.
diklo, handkerchief : 332, 333, 351.
doster, many : 341. [*Er* in English is often softened to *a* or *ah*, so probably Taylor really heard *dosta*.]
droms, roads : 363.
jiz, charm : 337. [Plato *loquitur* (Groome, p. 337 f.n.) 'A *jiz*!' what's that? S. and C. *jiz*, enchantment, charm; probably taken from Taylor.]
gorja, man : 337, 338; *gorjas*, men : 344. [The sound is *gawjo*, a corruption of *gadzo*.]
grei, horse : 349.
grucne, cow [Written on the margin of p. 112 of Pott, alongside of Marsden's form *gouvinee*.]

- had*, lift : 350. [Pott, ii. 173.]
hawben, victuals : 340. See *holl*.
[hinder, cacare] in *Hindetemmingro*, Irishman. [Written on margin of p. 100 of Pott, beside the various compounds of *temm*. The word means literally 'the man of the filthy country.']
hokani, trick : *bori hokani*, great trick : 349, 355, 356, 357. See *hoknapans*.
hoknapans, tricks : 341. [S. and C. *hóxaben*.]
holl, eat : 340, 344. See *hawben*.
hollin, eating : 341. [The *in* represents the English gerundial and participial suffix.]
hotchiwitchy, hedgehog : 340, 342, 345 ; *hotchy-witchy* in 1856 article ; *hotchy-witchy* [on margin of p. 101 of Pott, beside the word *perscheritsa*, where the Slavic suffix *-itsa* is treated].
jaed, went : 341. [The *ed* is the regular English suffix for past tense and past participle.]
[jin-, to know] : *jin* ? [who] knows ? 351 ; *jinned*, [he] knew : 341 ; *mande jinavas*, I know or understand you (1856). [This last form is an imperfect, though translated as a present. It seems to be the only real Romani imperfect recorded for the English dialect.]
juvlas, lice : 341. [The correct form is *juva*, but *juvel* and *juva* are often confused. See Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 83 (f.n.).]
kano, sorry. [Written on margin of p. 89 of Pott, and apparently regarded as related to Harriott's form *hono* 'angry.' It is more probably another form of S. and C.'s *kinó* 'weary,' unless Taylor deleted *tu* from *tugano*, thinking that it was a pronoun.]
keir, house : 334.
keiringro, housedweller : 334.
kek, nothing, no : 333.
kellapen, dance (sb.) : 341.
[ker-, to play] : *kerred*, [he] played : 341 ; *kerring*, playing : 341.
ko, who? : 351.
[kom-, to like] ; *konna*, I would like. See *com*.
koppa, blanket : 334.
lel, take : 350.
lill, book : 337, 341.
mande, me (dat.) : 332, 333. Used as nominative in *mande jinavas*, I know or understand you (1856).
mass, meat : 340.
maur, kill : 337.
monger, beggar : 346. [The *er* is the common English agent suffix.]
moulo. See *mulo*.
mui, face : 337.
muk, let : 340.
mulo, dead : 341 ; *moulo*, 340.
na : 333. [English 'in a.']
ourli, yes : 333, 342. [S. and C. *oirli*.]
pal, brother : 332, 333.
parrak, to thank (1856) ; *I parrák*, I thank ; *parrakavo tut*, I thank you. [Roberts, *parrac* ; S. and C. *parav* and *párik*.]
pattran, trail : 355, 356, 359, 360, 362, 368.
poshnikes, handkerchief : 331, 332, 366.
pukhar ask : 40. [The real meaning is 'to tell'.]
raht, blood : 337. [The *ah* probably represents a long *a*.]
rakli, girl : 332, and in 1856 article.
ranyeh [*ranya*], tent-sticks : 349. [The plural of *ran*, a rod.]
rei, gentleman, sir : 330, 331, 332, 340, 344, 349, 350, 351.
rincne. See *rinkni*.
rinkni, beautiful (1856) ; *rincne* : 332.
rokker, (to) speak : 351.
rokkerpen, talk (sb.) : *Romani rokkerpen*, Romani talk : 331.
rom, husband : 341.
l'omani, Gypsies : 340 ; *Roumáni* (1856) ; *Romani Rei* [tem. for masc. but a stereotyped phrase], Gypsy gentleman : 325 ; *Romani rokkerpen*, Romani talk : 331.
sallivandras, saddle : 349. [A mis-translation. The true meaning is 'bridle.' For various forms of the word see S. and C., p. 168.]
shurro, head : 341 ; *churro* : 332.
sirimangro, tailor. [Written on bottom margin of p. 140 of Pott.]
stadyeh, hat. [Written on margin of p. 86 of Pott, where *Mouillirung* is discussed. The *Mouillirung* of the *d* in *stadi* is quite unusual in Anglo-Romani, but it is probably a plur. *stadia*. Cf. *ranyeh*.]
ta, to (1856). [English.]

- tatcho*, true : 341.
telai, down ; in *besk-telai*, sit down
 [written on margin of p. 83 of Pott] ;
to-lai : 328.
temm, country] in *Hindetummingro*,
 Irishman. See *hinder*.
ticknee, little : 341.
to-lai. See *telai*.
tshar, ashes : 350. [Misprinted *tshar*
 in S. and C., p. 163. The spelling
 of this, and of the following, word
 points to its having been lifted from
 some continental book, as Taylor,
 hearing the word from an English
 Gypsy, would presumably have
 written *char*.]
tshuma, kiss (sb.) : 333. See *chuma*.
tumbo, tambourine : 341. [Lancelot
 (Groome, p. 341 f.n.) *loqutur*, 'Lord
 bless us all, the *tumbo*! I should
 say *tom-tom*. Why, they were half
 mumpers, half highgags.' Probably
 taken from Pott, ii. 284, *tambuk*.
 Not recorded for Anglo-Romani by
 any other writer, but appropriated
 from Taylor by Morwood, *Our Gipsies*,
 p. 154.]
tut, thee [accus. of second pers. pron.].
vado, cart : 342. [For omission of the
r see Bryant's *vadon*, *J. G. L. S.*, iv.
 189.]
vafardes, harm : 333. [Really an adverb.]
vellgouris, fairs : 341.
vongister, ring. [Written on margin of
 p. 90 of Pott.]
zimmins, soup : *bourri-zimmins*, snail-
 soup : 340, 342, 344, 346, and in the
 1856 article.

V.—LUCAS'S VOCABULARY

Edited by ALEXANDER RUSSELL

"**T**HAT'S a regular Lucas's tale," said Dimiti,' on hearing Leah recite the story of 'Happy Boz'll,' 'meaning by Lucas a Romani Munchausen who flourished half a century ago, but is still remembered for his marvellous powers of romancing.' *Omen nomen*, to quote Groome once more, for Joseph Lucas's *Yetholm History of the Gypsies*,—an amplification of his article 'Petty Romany' in the *Nineteenth Century*,—though it contains some valuable historical matter, has more philological absurdities than any other book of its size. Changes are rung on Gypsy race-names ancient and modern, and words of Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian speech are twisted into equalities, till amid all the permutations and combinations the reader, like Jack Jones, 'dunno where he are.'

The Yetholm words have already been dealt with in the article on 'Scoto-Romani'; we are here concerned with the vocabulary obtained from Gypsies on Mitcham Common, who, to judge from their words, must have included *pošrats* and mumpers. This vocabulary occupies pages 36-50 of the *History*, but we must include the words from pages 147-151, which our author says belong to the *Fly* or *Flash* language, names which he absurdly

derives from *Vlach*. Both lists contain alike gentle Romani and base Cant. To these I have added the words from 'Petty Romany' which Lucas states are known to English Gypsies.

It would be waste of type to quote all Lucas's derivations, but a few, which are quite obviously false, may be given as examples. *Pugras*, *pugger* 'a monkey' is derived from modern Greek *pugargos* 'a kind of animal'; *shackeran* 'to hold the tongue' is equated with Hindustani *chup-rahna*; *matchiko* 'a cat' is said to be the same word as *matchkis* 'fish'; and he suggests that the first syllable of *wooder* 'door' is the Greek definite article.

About a score of Cant words swell the list: *clapin*, *cloy*, *cop*, *faik*, *fogus*, *granum*, *miler*, *miltag*, *mush*, *plimmer*, *pompey*, *puke*, *reege*, *shan*, *slob*, *strame*, *strangel*, *togrums*, *win*, *wing*. Most of these are used by 'travellers' in general, and many of them appear in the Yetholm list. Lucas seems to have learned some of these first at Yetholm and then to have suggested them to his Mitcham hearers. Strange and puzzling words are *dashni*, *gal*, *gor*, *rum*, *seven*, *sevena*, *soar*; *chummani* 'a whip' and, perhaps, *poori* 'fat' are mistranslations; while *das* in the two phrases, *sosi das zeras* 'legs' and *sosi das danas* 'teeth,' and the forms in *karta kiloblosi deshono*ver the *kinoblosi* 'the sun a goin' over the hills,' can only be set aside as ghost words.

But these Gypsies of Mitcham Common gave Lucas some good Romani also. They are specially strong in the *-angro* or *-engro* and *-mengro* or *-mangro* genitive forms: *bakrengro*, *chinomangri*, *chinomengri*, *kanangri* and *kenengri*, *masengre*, *moto-mangwe*, *piamangre*, *poovengoro*, *poovengori*, *poovengra*, and *poovingré*, *rookastomangré* and *rookermangré*, *simamangré*, *sivamangre*, *spangemangre*, *vashangro*, *vashangri*, and *wishengro*, *yagangri*. Lucas suggests that *piameski* is a dative, but it may be a shortened form of the genitive *piamaskero*. As in other Anglo-Romani lists, the third person singular present indicative is used as the verb stem, and the English verbal suffixes are added to that.

Lucas's spelling is both erratic and tantalising. The consonants need no remark, except that *g* occurs once with the sound of *j* (*gin*), and *ch* is used in one word for *k*; *a* represents both *a* (*bal*, *bar*) and the dull sound *ə* (see the forms in *-angro* and *-engro*); this latter sound appears also as *er* (*chervi*, *pobbers*) and

perhaps as *e* (*bel, ret, jel*); *a* appears as *á* (*páni*), as *or* (*orv*), and as *aw* (*mawto*); *i* is written both *i* and *y* (*chookni, grovni, bibby*), *ī* appears as *ee* and *i* (*deek, cheek, pi*), and *ū* is represented by *oo* (*loon, shooble*). What exactly he intends by *é* is not clear. In some cases it can only be the regular feminine ending *ī* (*raté, rinkné*), but it probably represents the plural in *poovingré, rookermangré, simamangré*, etc.

VOCABULARY

[*akai*]. See *kai*.

arvé, yes. [For various forms of this word see S. and C., p. 190. If the accented *-e* is to be taken as equivalent to a French *é*, it denotes an unusual pronunciation of the word.]

ash, to know, mind (pp. 36 and 142).

[A ghost word. See *nīdash*.]

at. See *atch*.

atatto. See *tatto*.

atch, *at*, to stop, wait.

[*av-*, to come]: *orv* (imper.) 'come'; *orv avree* 'come in' [a mistranslation for 'come away']; *orvin* [i.e. *av-ing*] 'coming'; *raté's orvin* [*rati* is *aving*] 'night is coming.'

avri [away]; *avree* [mistranslated 'in.' See phrase under *av-*.]

bakangro, bakrengro. See *bakro*.

bakro, sheep (m.); *bakri* (f.); *bakri* [nom. plur.]; *mullo bakro* 'dead sheep'; *bakrengro* 'shepherd, contracted *bakangro*; properly gen. plur. of *bakro* "of sheep" the herder.'

bal, bel, hair.

bar, a stone.

[*baro, great*]: *barri páni* 'the sea'; *baré*. [One cannot say whether Lucas means this to be taken as femin. sing. or as nomin. plur.].

bel. See *bal*.

bibby, aunt.

bidiack, the youngest of a brood or family. [*biti yek* 'little one.']

bobbies, bubbies, bean, pulse (p. 147). [Plur. for sing.]

boish, saddle: *boish salovardis* 'saddle and bridle.' [In other vocabularies the word has the vowel *o* and retains its participial ending *-to*.]

boodega, shop: *jīal to the boodega* 'go to the shop' (p. 41 f.n.).

borh, hedge; *moosh parol the borh dray* 'man over the hedge there' (pp. 37, 45 f.n.).

bubbies. See *bobbies*.

c. See also *k*.

cass, hay.

chang'ri, knee; "'A' koor, I pray, to my *changeri* i' ret. All fight, I pray, to my *knees* in blood"—so translated on Mitcham Common, but query *hands*? From a song I took down.' [The correct meaning is, of course, 'knees.' Plur. of *chang*. The song is a variant of the verse on p. 249 (1907 ed.) of *Lavolil*.]

chavies. See *chervi*.

che! che! have done! ['Petty Romanian,' p. 581. See 'Scoto-Romani,' No. 1128.]

cheek, dust.

cherrikee, a pheasant. [The penultimate *e* may be a misreading of a badly written *l*, or that letter may have dropped out of the pronunciation.]

chervi, a child (p. 66); *chavies* 'children.' [*er*=*r*, the indeterminate vowel which is liable to be written *a*, *u*, or *er* by those who do not sound *r*.]

chinomangri, a chopper, hook. [See *J. G. L. S.*, v. 183, for explanation of this form.]

chinomengri, a letter, bill. [See *J. G. L. S.*, v. 183.]

chooka, uncle. [An unusual medial vowel; *kāko* is more common. For the initial consonant cf. Bryant's form *chauk*, *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 177, 188.]

- chookni*, a whip.
choome, to kiss.
choori, a knife; *choorie* (p. 151); *poov chori*, 'plough, lit. field-knife.'
chor, green clover. [An extension of its ordinary meaning 'grass'.]
chor, to steal; *moosh chored a miler* 'man stole a donkey' (p. 38 f.n.).
chori. See *choori*.
chorkas, shoes. [Also in 'Petty Romany,' p. 592. *čákas*, plur. of *čáka*.]
chuckle, a coat. [Also in 'Petty Romany,' p. 592. A corrupt form of *čoxa*.]
chummani, a whip. [A mistranslation. See S. and C., *choimoni* 'something'.]
clapin, a mill. [See 'Scoto-Romani,' No. 206.]
cleg, to shut. [See 'Scoto-Romani,' No. 287.]
clissen, to shut (p. 39 f.n.). See *klissen*.
cloy, a pocket. [Cant. See O. E. D.]
comlyorsh, cracking: *rookasto mangré comlyorsh pebblioi* 'squirrel up a tree cracking nuts' (p. 147 f.n.). [A hopeless corruption.]
coonser, *cunse*, corner; *palal the coonser* 'round the corner' (p. 39 f.n.). [S. and C., *koónsus*, *koónshi*.]
coories, *couries*, blankets, bedclothes (p. 147). [? A northern pronunciation of Eng. 'covers' + diminutive termination. Lucas probably learned this word at Yetholm and then suggested it to his Mitcham people. So with *clapin* and *cleg*.]
cooter, a sovereign (p. 147). [*kotor*, a piece.]
cop, to get (p. 147). [Eng. slang.]
coppers, bedclothes. [S. and C., *kóppa*.] See *copples*.
copples, blankets. [Same word as above.]
cosht. See *kosht*.
couries. See *coories*.
cunse. See *coonser*.
cushti, good: *cushti ratí* 'good night'; *cushti sorla* 'good morning.' [S. and C., p. 26.]
[*da-*, to give or strike]: *da* 'give' ['Petty Romany,' p. 580. A rare form now]; *da mandyaker o' levenar* 'give me a pot of beer' (p. 39 f.n.); *dal* 'give (imper.)'; *del* 'give (imper.)'; *del mandy* 'give me,' 'hit me' (p. 40 f.n.).
dal. See *da-*.
dant, a tooth; plur. in *sosi das danas* 'teeth' (p. 39 f.n.). [Lit. 'what are the teeth?' or 'what is it?' Dat's *danas*.]
das. [In the sentence under *dant* perhaps Lucas wrote *das* for *danas*, and then forgot to erase it, but this explanation does not suit the other phrase *sosi das zeras* 'legs.' Possibly this latter is equal to *So si*. Dat's '*eras* 'what is it?' Dat's (*h*)*eras*.]
dashni, a snake. [Looks like *Romani*, but not in Pott or Miklosich. Transpose the syllables and you have *nidash*, q.v.]
deek. See *dik*.
del. See *da-*.
desh: *sosi dui desh* 'cup and saucer,' 'the two dishes' (p. 40 f.n.). [The word means 'cup'.]
deshonover, going. [See phrase quoted under *kar*. Looks very like Eng. 'dashing over'.]
decel. See *dewas*.
dewas, *decel*, day; the *devel* is jelling 'the day is going' (p. 40 f.n.).
dic. See *dik*.
diddy. See *dik*.
[*dik*, to see]: *deek* 'to see'; *dic* at 'em a-*koorin* 'look at them fighting' (p. 43 f.n.); *dik* 'look (imper.)'; *dik* at the *toorla* 'look at the tobacco' (p. 40 f.n.); *diddy* 'look'; *diddy ki kan* [*dikta* (*didta*) *akei kan*] 'look here, now!' (p. 39 f.n.).
dorr, far.
dray, *údray*, *odray* in *jal o' dray* (p. 41 f.n.), here, there, in; *duvvo* 'dray is *man*'s *nav* 'this here is my name' (p. 43 f.n.); *A riah* 'dray the *tan* 'a gentleman in the tent' (p. 40 f.n.). [S. and C., *adré*, '*dré*.]
drin, three. [For this form of *trin* cf. J. G. L. S., Old Series, iii. 246.]
drom, road (p. 147, and in 'Petty Romany,' p. 579); *drum* (p. 147).
duckit, a handbill (p. 147). [? Eng. 'docket'.]

[*dād*], sight : *mulladuid*, *mullad-oid* [*mulo-dād*] 'blind = dead sight.'

dui, two ; *sosi dui desh* 'cup and saucer' (p. 40 f.n.) ; *dui kala* '2s.' (p. 40 f.n.) ; *dui oras* '2d.' (p. 40 f.n.) ; *dui spange* 'ten' (p. 40 f.n.).

dukker, to tell fortunes.

[*dusta*, much] : *shool-dusta* 'cold.' [Lit. 'very cold.']

duvvo, this : *duvvo* 'dray is man's nav' 'this here is my name' (p. 43 f.n.).

ennea, nine. ['Petty Romany,' p. 579. Rarely used nowadays ; see *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 175.]

esel, donkey. [Lucas does not give this word in his Mitcham list, but at p. 580 of 'Petty Romany' he states that it is among German words still in use. Not used by Gs., but common among tinkers. See 'Scoto-Romani,' No. 5.]

faik, take (imper.) ; *faik a plimmer* 'take a stone' (p. 40 f.n.). [Cant. See 'fake' in *O. E. D.*]

flash, cant (p. 148). [Eng. See *O. E. D.*]

fly, cant (p. 148). [Eng. See *O. E. D.*]

fogus, a smoke, tobacco (p. 148). [Cant. See Hotten's *Dictionary*, p. 167.]

gad, a shirt.

gæro, 'a dog's name' (p. 12). [*gæiro* 'man.'] Cf. *moosh*.

gaf, a fair. [English slang.]

gal, cheek. [Probably got by suggesting the Hindustani word *gal*.]

gin. See *jin*.

give, corn. [One syllable.]

godgies. See *gorgio*.

goey, *goosy*, pudding.

gor, a grave. [Might be connected with *garav* 'to hide,' but more probably suggested by the same form in the Hindustani column.]

gorgio, man, boy ; *godgies* 'people' (p. 35).

gransi, a barn. ['Petty Romany,' p. 581. S. and C., *grāinsi*, *grānza*.]

granum, corn (p. 148). [Also in 'Petty Romany,' p. 580. Cant from Latin.]

grovni, *grubni*, *grufni*, a cow.

groy, a horse ; *groy* won't *taedy* 'the horse won't draw' (p. 49 f.n.). [For this form cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 76, in the song quoted under *kārengero*.]

grubni, *grufni*. See *grovni*.

haben, victuals.

[*hira*, *hora*, penny] : *dui oras* '2d.' (p. 40 f.n.) ; *shack-ori*, *shory* 'six-pence.'

idray. See *dray*.

[*ja*, to go] : *jal* 'to walk' ; *jal to vuddras* 'go to bed' (p. 41 f.n.) ; *jel* 'to walk' ; *jel o' dray* 'go out' (p. 41 f.n.) ; the *devel* is *jelling* 'the day is going' (p. 40 f.n.) ; *jess* 'to go, pass' ; *jīal* 'to walk' ; *jīal to the boodega* 'go to the shop' (p. 41 f.n.).

jal, *jel*, *jess*, *jīal*. See *ja*.

[*jin*, to know] : *gin* 'to know' ; *mandy gins the riak* 'I understand the gentleman' (p. 41 f.n.).

jukel, *jukelo*, *juke*, a dog (p. 51) ; *jukel* is given also at p. 592 of 'Petty Romany.'

juvel, a woman ; *rinkne juvel* 'a handsome woman' (p. 82).

juver, a louse.

k. See also under *c*.

kai, here, there ; *diddy ki kan* [*didta akei kan*] 'look here, now !' (p. 39 f.n.).

kair, a house.

kairy, a hat (p. 148). [Cant and slang *caidie*.]

kal, cheese.

kala. See *kova*.

kan, now ; *diddy ki kan* 'look here, now !' (p. 42 f.n.).

kanangri, *kanengri*, a hare. See *kani*.

kangri, comb.

kani, ear ; *kanengri*, *kanangri* 'a hare.' [The *i* has probably crept into *kan* through confusion with next word.]

kani, a hen.

kar, *kart*, *karta*, sun ; *karta kiloblosi deshonover the kinoblosi* 'the sun a-go'in' over the hills' (p. 42 f.n.). [A ghost word.]

kari. See *kekari*.

kawlo, black.

kekari, kettle ; *kavi* 'kettle' ; *kari-sester* 'iron kettle stick' (p. 151).

- ker*, a pot; *ker o' levenner* 'pot of beer.'
[*kero levenner*, S. and C., *koóri*, *kóro*.]
ki. See *kai*.
kilobloshi, *kinobloshi*. [Ghost words. See phrase quoted under *kar*.]
klissen, to lock, or shut; *clissen* the wooder 'shut the door.'
kobles, peas. [Eng. 'cobbles.' See *O. E. D.*]
koish. See *kosht*.
koona, a crown; *posh-kuna* 'half-a-crown' (p. 43 f.n.). [S. and C., *koórona*.]
koor, to fight; 'A' *koor*, I pray, to my *changeri* i' *ret*. All fight, I pray, to my knees in blood' (p. 38 f.n.); *dic* at 'em a-*koorin* 'look at them a-fighting' (p. 43 f.n.).
kosht, 'the bent sticks stuck into the ground to make the frame for the tent. They are called *tan kosht* = tent-sticks, or tent-rods. Here also *koish* means a bough of a tree, while still on the tree' (p. 36); *cosht* ['Petty Romany,' p. 592].
[*koca*, thing]: *dui kula* '2s.' (p. 40 f.n.).
kuna. See *koona*.
kushni, a basket. See also *tooshna* and *tooshni*.
[*la-*, to take]: *lel* 'to take.'
lel. See *la-*.
levenner, beer (p. 148); *da mandy* a *ker o' levenner* 'give me a pot of beer' (p. 39 f.n.). [S. and C. *livena*, *lovína*.]
lodge, a watch. ['Petty Romany,' p. 583. Cant.]
loon. See *lun*.
lové, money (p. 148).
lun, *loon*, salt.
makte. See *mukta*.
malo. See *miler*.
mandy, I, me; *del mandy* 'give me,' 'hit me' (p. 40 f.n.); *da mandy* a *ker o' levenner* 'give me a pot of beer' (p. 39 f.n.); *mandy gins* the *riah* 'I understand the gentleman' (pp. 41, 43 f.n.); *durro* 'dray is *man'i's nar* 'this here is my name' (p. 43 f.n.).
mas, meat; *mullo mas* 'dead meat'; *masengre* 'skewer.'
masengre. See *mas*.
matchiko, a cat.
matchkis (pl.), fish. [*k* due to false analogy with last word.]
maw, to kill. [S. and C., *mor*.]
mawto, drunk.
miler, donkey; *malo* (p. 148). [See S. and C., p. 22, and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 78.]
milltag, a shirt. [Shelta and Cant. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 206.]
mooley, mouth.
moosh, a man; *moosh chored* a *miler* 'man stole a donkey' (p. 38 f.n.); *moosh parol* the *borh dray* 'man over the hedge there' (pp. 37, 45 f.n.); 'also a dog's name' (p. 44 f.n.). [Cf. *gaero*.]
moosh, a mouse. [Cf. *Mikl*, viii. 21.]
moosh. See *mush*.
mooshkra, a policeman. [S. and C., *mooshkero*, *mooshero*.]
morgen, morning. ['Petty Romany,' p. 580. Cant.]
moro, bread. See also *wororo*.
moto mangwé. See *muter*.
muk. See *mukta*.
mukta, a box; *mullad-i-mukta*, *mullit-a-muk* '(= corpse-box), coffin.'
mul, wine.
mullad, *mullad-oid*, *mulladuid*. See *mullo*.
mullin', *mullit*. See *mullo*.
mullo, dead; *mullo bakro* 'dead sheep'; *mullo mas* 'dead meat'; *mullad* 'corpse' [lit. 'dead'] *mullad-i-* [*muladi*] *makte* 'corpse-box, coffin'; *mullit* 'dead'; *mullit-a-muk* [*mullita muk(ta)*] 'corpse-box, coffin'; *mulladuid*, *mulladouid* [! *mullo dād*] 'blind = dead sight'; *mullin'* [*mul-ing*] 'dying.'
mumly, candle, lamp.
mush, *moosh*, umbrella. [Cant.]
[*muter-*, to micturate]; *moto mangwé* in *sosi moto mangwé* 'a cup of tea.'
[Gen. plur. form corrupted from *mutarimangri*.]
nak, nose.
nanty, you (p. 142). [Hotten's *Dictionary*, p. 234, *nantee* 'not any, or "I have none."' A general negative. Italian *niente*.]
nar, name; also in *durro* 'dray is

- man's nar* 'this here is my name' (p. 43 f.n.).
- [*nīdash*, *nīdesh*]: *need ash* (p. 142) and *ash* (p. 36). [Lucas took *need* as Eng. and *ash* as from Hindustani *ashna*, but the two syllables together make the Shelta *nīdash*, for which see *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 212.]
- octo*, eight. ['Petty Romany,' p. 579. Rarely used now; see *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 175.]
- ora*. See *hira*.
- orv*. See *av*.
- ovid*. See *dīd*.
- pal*, friend: *sosi pal* 'here's a friend' (p. 150 f.n.). [S. and C., *pal* 'brother, mate.']
- palal*, round: *palal* the *coonser* 'round the corner' (p. 39 f.n.). [The real meaning is 'from behind.']
- [*pand*, to shut]: *pande* 'shut'; *pand* the wooder 'shut the door' (pp. 39, 45 f.ns.).
- pāni*, water; *barri pāni* 'the sea'; *tāri* [misprint for *tāti*] *pāni* 'whisky-toddy'; also in *pani-shock* 'water-cress.'
- pani-shock*. See *pani* and *shock*.
- parol*, beside, along, over, under; *piar parol* the *drom* 'walk along the road' (p. 45 f.n.); *moosh parol* the *borh dray* 'man over the hedge there' (pp. 37, 45 f.ns.). [The real meaning is 'across.']
- pē*. See *pi*.
- pebblioi*, nuts: *rookasto mangrē conly-orsh pebblioi* 'squirrel up a tree cracking nuts' (p. 47 f.n.). [S. and C., *pīlliaw*, *pīlliaw*, *pīv-liaw*.]
- pedes*, a foot (p. 149), 'feet.' ['Petty Romany,' p. 850. Lucas probably had the Latin word in his head and suggested it to his hearers. He seems to have been always looking for derivations which do not exist.]
- pepnia*, a goose (p. 149). [A plur. from *papin*.]
- [*pi*, to drink]: *pi* '(pron. *pee*) to drink'; *pē* out o' the *vallin* 'drink out of the bottle' (p. 46 f.n.); *piamangre* 'a drunken man, properly gen. plu. the man "of drinks."' [So Lucas; but really a plur. of the genit. plur. substantival formation]; *piameski* 'tea (dative sing.?) = something to drink' [genit. *piameskeri* contracted].
- piamangre*, *piameski*. See *pi*.
- piar*, to walk; *piar parol* the *drom* 'walk along the road' (p. 45 f.n.).
- piaris*, feet. [Cf. *pedes*.]
- plashta*, red cloak (p. 151). [The word, of course, means only 'cloak.']
- plimmer*, stone: *faik a plimmer* 'take a stone, and throw it at him' (p. 40 f.n.). [Cant. See Norwood: *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 206.]
- pobbers*, *pobbles*, apples (p. 149). [S. and C., *pōbo*, *pōbi*.]
- pompey*, a pot, cauldron (p. 149). [Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 147, under *kari*.]
- poori*, fat: *poori moosh* 'a fat man. [The word means 'old'; Lucas may have pointed to a man who was both 'old' and 'fat' and misunderstood the reply, or perhaps he thought it was formed from *pur* 'paunch.' A third—less likely—explanation is that it is a corruption of *pordo* 'full.' Whiter has the form *pauro*.]
- poov*, a field, meadow; *poov chori* 'plough, lit. field-knife': *pooven-goro*, *poovengori*, *poovengra*, *poov-ingrē* 'potato, properly gen. plur., the plant "of fields"' [*poov-ingrē* is plur. meaning 'potatoes.']
- poovengoro*, *poovengori*, *poovengra*, *poov-ingrē*. See *poov*.
- posh*, half: *posh-kuna* 'half a crown' (p. 43 f.n.).
- prasti*, run; *praste* ['Petty Romany,' p. 581]. [Imperative.]
- pugger*, *pugras*, a monkey (p. 149). [From Eng. 'pug.' See Groome: *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 84 (f.n.).]
- puke*, a ferret (p. 149). ["Cant or slang. Quite common among roadsters of all sorts." E. O. W.]
- pullinger*, onion. See *purrum*. [From Cornelius Fenner Mr. Winstedt got *mullinger* 'a bean.']
- pur*, paunch.
- purrum*, onion. See also *pullinger*.

- pushkin*, a hare, 'puss' (p. 149). [See 'Scoto-Romani,' No. 866.]
- puss*, straw.
- raanee*, a lady. [*Rāni* is more common in Anglo-Romani.]
- rap*, to talk (p. 149). [Slang. See *O. E. D.*]
- rati*. See *rati*.
- rati*, night; *rati's orvin* [*rati* is aring] 'night is coming' (p. 45 f.n.).
- reege*, a sovereign (p. 151). [Cant. See 'Scoto-Romani,' No. 902.]
- ret*, blood. Also in *A' koor*, I pray, to my *changeri* i' *ret* 'all fight, I pray, to my knees in blood' (p. 38 f.n.).
- riah*, gentleman; a *riah* 'dray the *tan* 'a gentleman in the tent' (p. 40 f.n.); *mandy gins* the *riah* 'I understand the gentleman' (p. 41 f.n.); the form is *roy* in *rum roy* 'Gypsy gentleman'; *shoon* the *rum roy rockrabin* 'hear the gentleman speaking' (p. 47 f.n.).
- rinkne*, handsome: *rinkne juvel* 'a handsome woman' (p. 82). [S. and C., p. 27.]
- rock*, *rocker*, *rockrabi*, *rockrabin*. See *roker*.
- [*roker*-, to talk]: *rock* 'to talk'; *rocker* 'to talk'; don't *rocker* 'don't talk' (p. 47 f.n.); to *rocker Romany* [to talk Gypsy] (p. 47 f.n.); *rockrabi* 'to talk' [*rokrapien*, talk, talking]; *shoon* the *rum roy rockrabin* 'hear the gentleman speaking' (p. 47 f.n.).
- rokli*, a girl. [For the form with *o* cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 78.]
- Romani*, Gypsy language; *Rōmani* ['Petty Romany,' p. 579]; to *rocker Romany* [to talk Gypsy] (p. 47 f.n.).
- Romanis*, Gypsy language. [*Romanes*, adv.]
- rooker*, *rookasto mangré*, *rookermangré*. See *ruk*.
- room*. See *rum*.
- roop*, silver.
- roy*. See *riah*.
- ruk*, a tree; *rooker* 'a squirrel'; *rookermangré* 'squirrel[s]' [plur. of genit. plur.]; *rookastomangré* [adjectival and genit. plur. terminations, but an impossible form. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 12 f.n.] in *rookasto mangré comlyorsh pebblioi* 'squirrel[s] up a tree cracking nuts' (p. 47 f.n.).
- rum*, *room*, gooseberry. [Not Romani. 'Read backwards this makes *mur*. Cf. Welsh Gypsy *mūra* "berry." *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 232.' E. O. Winstedt.]
- Rum*, Gypsy: *Rum roy* 'G. gentleman.' [Perhaps Cant *rum* 'big'; perhaps a shortened form of *Romano*. See MacRitchie: *Gypsies of India*, p. 96.]
- salarardi*, *salovardo*, bridle (p. 149); *salovarda* ['Petty Romany,' p. 579]; *boish salovardis* 'saddle and bridle.'
- sapni*, soap. ['Petty Romany,' p. 581.] [S. and C., *sāpan*, *sāpanis*.]
- sester*. See *zaster*.
- seveen* (f.), *seveena* (m.), viper. [Impossible forms of *sap* or *sapni*.]
- shackeran* [hold your tongue]: *shackeran* a *pande weesa* 'hold your tongue and don't let nobody hear you' (p. 47 f.n.). [S. and C., *shoóker* 'Silence! keep quiet!' For the termination of *shackeran* see under *weesa*.]
- shack-ori*. See *shak* and *hira*.
- shak*, six; *shack-ori*, *shory* 'sixpence.'
- shan*, bad. [Cant.]
- sheero*, head.
- shillo*, cold. See also *shool-dusta*.
- shock*, cabbage. Also in *puni-shock* 'watercress.'
- shooble*. See *shuba*.
- shool-dusta*, cold. [Lit. 'very cold.']
- shoon*, to hear; 'also imper. hark! hush!'; *shoon* the *Rum roy rock-rabin* 'hear the gentleman speaking' (p. 47 f.n.).
- shooshi*, rabbit.
- shory*. See *shak* and *hira*.
- shuba*, *shooble*, a dress. [S. and C., *shooba*.]
- simamangré*, pawnbroker[s] (p. 150). [Plur. of genit. plur. form of verbal noun from *simer*.]
- simony*, broth (p. 150). [Corruption of *zimin*.]
- sir*, a needle; also in *siramangre* 'a needle' [=needles. Genit. plur. form, 'the thing of the sewings']. See *suc*.

- slob*, tea (p. 150). [Cant from Eng. 'slops.']
- soar*, a bramble. [Possibly a dialect word.]
- sorla*, morning; *cushti sorla* 'good morning.' [S. and C., *saüla*, *saüla*.]
- sosi*, here's (p. 150). Also in *sosi das danas* 'teeth' (p. 39 f.n.); *sosi das zeras* 'legs' (p. 50 f.n.); *sosi dui desh* 'cup and saucer, lit. the two dishes' (pp. 40, 150 f.n.); *sosi pal* 'here's a friend!' (p. 150 f.n.). [*sosi*, lit. 'what is' is used for 'there is,' 'it is' by some Eng. Gs. nowadays.]
- soster*, tongs (p. 151). See *zaster*.
- spange*, five; *spange mangre* 'mid rib of tent.' [See Lucas's note (p. 49 f.n.). He seems to regard this last form as another genit. plur. 'thing of the fives.' The intrusive *s* in *spange* may be due to the sibilant in *stor* and *for*.]
- stardie*, a hat, bonnet (p. 150). [S. and C., *stadi*.]
- stariban*, *staripen*, a hat, bonnet. [Wrongly bracketed on p. 150 with *stardie*. The correct meaning is 'gaol,' which he gives for the form *stardie* in Yetholm list. There is a complicated confusion here, *stariben* 'prison'; *stardo* 'imprisoned'; *stadi* 'hat'.]
- stor*, four.
- strame*, straw. ['Petty Romany' p. 581. Cant from Latin *stramen*.]
- strangel*, an onion (p. 150). [S. and C., p. 288 *strangli*; p. 141 *strangli*. 'A mumper's lav, it means *poórumi*.']
- stuggas*, rick. [Pott. ii. 246.]
- sur*, a needle. See *sir*.
[*sur*, to sew]: *survin* [*sur-ing*] 'sewing.'
- taddy*, *tædi*, (to) draw (of a horse); *groy* won't *taedy* [horse won't draw] (p. 49 f.n.). [S. and C., *tårder*.]
- tan*, a place, tent; *tan kosht* 'tent-sticks or tent-rods'; *tanyas* 'the tents, camp' (p. 151). [A double plural.]
- tārī*. See *tatto*.
- tatn*. See *tatto*.
- tatto*, *atatto*, hot; *tatn* 'hot'; that's a *tatn* Roy [that's a hot 'un, sir. There was a fight on when Lucas visited the encampment; see under *koor*] (p. 49 f.n.); *totty pani*, *tero pani* 'toddy, spirits'; *tārī* [misprint for *tātī*] *pāni* 'whisky-toddy.' [*atatto* = a *tato*.]
- tero*. See *tatto*.
- togrums*, clothes pegs. [From Cant *toq*.]
- tooshna*, a basket. See also *kūshni*.
- tooshni*, a faggot.
- toovla*, tobacco; *dik at the toovla* 'look at the tobacco' (p. 40 f.n.); *toovlo*, *tublo* 'tobacco pipe' (p. 151).
- totty*. See *tatto*.
- trēs*, three (p. 150). [Cant from Latin.]
- trin*, three. See also *drin*.
- troopias*, women's stays (p. 150). [A double plural. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 4 *trūpi*.]
- tublo*. See *toovla*.
- tulli*, fat.
- tutti*, thy, your.
- vallin*, bottle; *pē out o' the vallin* 'drink out of the bottle' (pp. 46, 50 f.n.).
- vanga*, money (p. 150). [Lit. 'coals.' See Groome: *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 251 (f.n.).]
- vashangro*, *vashangri*. See *vaysh*.
- vast*, hand.
- vaysh*, *vaish*, a plantation; *vashangro*, *vashangri*, *wishengro* 'gamekeeper' [gen. plur. of *vaš*.]
- voro*, meal, flour.
- vuddras*, bed: *jel to vuddras* 'go to bed' (p. 41 f.n.).
- waish*. See *vaysh*.
- weesa* [mouth, throat]: *shackeran a pande weesa* 'hold your tongue and don't let nobody hear you' (p. 47 f.n.). [Eng. 'weasand.' Mr. E. O. Winstedt arguing that *weasand* is rather a rare word not likely to be known to Gs., suggests *šukār a[n]d na pen duro asar*.]
- win*, *ving*, penny (p. 150). [Cant, Harman: *Caueat*: *wyn*.]
- wishengro*. See *vaysh*.
- wooder*, door: *pandē the wooder* 'shut the door' (p. 45 f.n.).
- wororo*, bread. [Looks like a diminutive of *voro*, but perhaps only a misreading of a badly written *moro*.]

- yag*, fire ; *yagangri* 'a gun' (p. 50 f.n.). *zaster*, iron (p. 151) ; *soster* 'tongs' ;
 [Genit. plur. of *yag*.] *kavi-sester* 'iron kettle stick' (p.
yagangri. See *yag*. 151).
yek, eye. *zeras*, legs ; *sosi das zeras* 'legs' (p. 50
 [*yek*, one] : *bidiack* 'the youngest of a f.n.). [S. and C., *héro*. Mik. vii.
 brood or family' [= *biti yek* 'little 55 *ger*.]
 one.')

VI.—SIX MINOR ANGLO-ROMANI VOCABULARIES

Arranged by ALEXANDER RUSSELL

IN addition to the larger and more important vocabularies of Bryant, Bright, Whiter, Harriott, Roberts, Norwood, Borrow, Smart and Crofton, and Leland, there are several shorter lists and also many works containing words and phrases of Romani scattered throughout. Six of these sources are here arranged. No attempt is made at editing them; in most cases they do not require it. The words are simply arranged in alphabetical order, and references given to their sources, so that they may be available for incorporation in the complete dictionary of Anglo-Romani, once the more important vocabularies have all been edited.

I. From Morwood's *Our Gipsies*, 1885. This work is in large part a compilation from the standard English writings on Gypsies. The numerous words quoted from Smart and Crofton, Groome, and Leland are here omitted, but a few are included which are apparently lifted from Tom Taylor.

1. *adri*, in, 27, 313.
2. [*bes*h-, to sit] : *beshte lay yukel*, lie down, dog, 277. [From Tom Taylor. See *In G. Tents*, p. 328.]
3. *bok*, luck, 146.
4. *bor*, hedge, 313.
5. *bori*, great, 304.
6. *bosh*, [fiddle], 154.
7. *caumli*, [lovely], 311.
8. *chavi*, child, 293.
9. *chavo*, [boy], 157.
10. *chirriclo*, bird, 313.
11. *chiv*, put, 27.
12. *cushgar*, [good], 67 ; *cushgow*, 67 ; *cushtow*, 67, 68 ; *cushty*, 28, 67, 68, 91, 143. [Morwood has an absurd remark (p. 67) about the various spellings of this word given him by Gypsies. The forms *cushgar* and *cushtow* are taken from Taylor.]
13. *dadi*. [May be either English or Romani.] 293.
14. *del*, give, 27, 28, 68.
15. *divrus*, day, 143.
16. *drow*, [poison], 127, 128. [Cf. Borrow, *Lavengro*, chap. lxxxi. *drows*, and Groome's note 'not Anglo-Romany.']
17. *duj*, two, 313.
18. *Gorjo*, [non-G.], 146 ; *Gorjos*, 96, 149, 193.
19. *hauben*, [food, meal], 142. [The form is *habben* in Borrow's 'Poison-

- ing the Porker,' *Romany Rye*, chap. vii.]
20. *hokani*, trick, 304. [From a policeman who had probably read *Lavolil*.]
21. [*hora*, penny]; *shoohora*, sixpence, 27; *shookories*, sixpences, 146.
22. *horo*, watch, 68.
23. [*is*, to be]: *shan*, are you, 28.
24. *jallel*, get, 68. [*jal*, *lel*, go, take.]
25. *jamgustrie*, ring, 68.
26. *jukel*, dog, 277.
27. *kair*, house, 68; *keir*, 28.
28. *kairingro*, [house-dweller], 68. [Taken from Taylor as is the form *kair*, above. Taylor spells *keir*.]
29. *kosko*, [good], 142. [Quoted from Borrow; see under *hauben*. Cf. *cushgar*.]
30. *lay*. See *tele*.
31. [*lel*, to take.] See *jallel*.
32. *levinar*, beer, 28.
33. *lils*, books, 213.
34. *mande*, me, 27, 28, 68.
35. *moosh*, man, 90; *musho*, 68.
36. *parakor*, thank, 28, 68.
37. *pashorrus*, [indebted], 197. [Borrowian.]
38. *pobbers*, apples, 68.
39. *posh*, half, 341.
40. *poshnikes*, handkerchiefs, 126; kerchief, 141.
41. *putsey*, pocket, 27.
42. *rei*, gentleman, 27, 28, 68, 105.
43. *rinkno*, pretty, 68.
44. *Romanes* (adv.), [in Romani], 68.
45. *Romani-chal*, Gypsy, 146.
46. *Romany*, Gypsy, 142. [Quoted from Borrow. See *hauben*.]
47. *rook*, tree, 68.
48. *sah*, how, 28.
49. *sala*, morning, 28, 91.
50. *shan*. See *is*.
51. [*shov*, six]: *shoohora*, sixpence, 27; *shookories*, sixpences, 146.
52. *sonnikey*, gold, 68.
53. [*tele*, down]: *beshte lay jukel*, lie down, dog, 277.
54. *ticknee*, little, 28, 213.
55. *tumbo*, [tambourine], 154. [Taken from Taylor.]
56. *tut*, you (acc.), 28, 68.
57. *vast*, hand, 27, 313.
58. *wafadou*, bad, 146.
59. *wericle*, chain, 68.

II. From Theodore Watts-Dunton's *Aylwin*. Page numbers are given from the Illustrated Edition, 1902. In this work, and also in the 'Prefatory Note' to the first and second editions of *The Coming of Love*, our late President claims that the Gypsies he depicts 'belong to a peculiar class, the East Anglian and East Midland horse-dealers from Wales,' but some of his Romani words seem reminiscent of Borrow and Groome. The proverb quoted at the end of chap. xvii. of *Aylwin*, 'the *kair* is *kushto* for the *kairengro*' is from Tom Taylor.

1. *balanser*, sovereign, 313; *balansers*, 155, 163, 164, 220, 405. *posh balanser*, half-sovereign, 156.
2. *beng*, devil, 130, 163; *beng te tassa mandi*, [devil choke me], 130, 163.
3. *boot*, much, 332.
4. *burk*, bosom, 190, 301, 336.
5. *Camloes*, Lovells, 165, 166, 317, 358, 418.
6. *chals*, [fellows], 139. [Used thus once as a separate word. See *Romany chal*.]
7. *chavi*, child, daughter, 131, 141, 166, 175, 177, 188, 322, 332, 419, 430, 431.
8. *chavies*. See *chavo*.
9. *chavo*, child, 190, 222; *chavies*, children, 328, 330.
10. *chies*, [daughters], 139. See *Romany chi*.
11. [*chiriklo*, bird]: *Romany Chiriklo*, Gypsy magpie, 183.
12. *chonesko*, [of the moon]: *chonesko dood*, moonlight, 348.
13. *choori*, poor, 332.
14. [*courna*, crown]: *posh-courna*, half-crown, 156.

15. *dabla!* [an exclamation], 186.
16. *dood*, light : *chonesko dood*, moon-light, 348.
17. *dook*, spirit, ghost, 166 ; *dukkerin'* *dook*, prophesying ghost, 329, 336, 337.
18. *dordi!* [an exclamation], 140, 151, 164, 171, 174, 178, 328.
19. *dukkerin*, fortune-telling, 223 ; *dukkerin'*, 162, 163, 173, 303, 335, 336 ; *dukking*, 165 ; *dukkerin gillie*, 143 ; *dukkerin' gillie*, incantation song, 140, 335, 359 ; *dukkerin' gilly*, 335 ; *dukking gillie*, 338 ; *dukkerin' dook*, prophesying ghost, 329, 336, 337.
20. *dukkeripen*, fortune, 163, 167, 222, 225, 226, 228, 304, 338, 358, 414, 417, 418, 427, 430 ; *dukkeripen of the trushul*, the fortune of the cross, 142, 156, 436 ; *dukkeripens*, 356, 425, 430.
21. *gillie*, song, 224 ; *gillies*, 129. See under *dukkerin*.
22. *Gorgie*, non-G. woman, 127 (f.n.), 128, 129, 138, 161, 222, 417, 419, 431 ; *Gorgie-wench*, 162.
23. *Gorgio*, non-G. man, 127 (f.n.), 128, 129, 130, 132, 138, 139, 141, 153, 161, 163, 169, 171, 172, 174, 185, 192, 225, 231, 290, 303, 304, 336, 337, 338, 341, 358, 417, 418, 419, 426, 430, 431 ; *Gorgio's*, 337 ; *Gorgios*, 126, 128, 139, 140, 141, 143, 163, 165, 168, 171, 174, 175, 184, 190, 303, 335, 336, 339, 341, 342, 418, 427, 430.
24. *griengro*, horsedealer, 163, 164, 185 ; *griengrocs*, [misprinted *griengors*], 184 ; *gryengrocs*, 221.
25. *gry*, horse, 185 ; *gries*, 163, 417, 431.
26. *hotchiwitchi*, hedgehog, 128.
27. *kair*, house, 431.
28. *kairengro*, house-dweller, 431 ; *kair-engros*, 328 ; 'roof-dwellers,' 306.
29. *kaulo*, black : *kaulo Camloes*, black Lovells, 165, 166, 317, 358, 418, 430.
30. *kekka!* no, 172.
31. *kushto*, good, 431.
32. *Londra*, London, 171, 431.
33. *lubbany*, [prostitute], 336.
34. *mandi*, me : *beng te tassa mandi*, [devil choke me], 130, 163.
35. *mullo*, fetch, ghost, spirit, wraith, 225 ; *mullos*, 329 ; *livin' mullo*, 144, 167, 169, 170, 303, 329, 335, 338, 339, 357, 358, 359, 426 ; *living mullo*, 322, 340 ; *livin' mullos*, 140, 323 ; *livin' mullos*, 322.
36. *mumply* [degraded] : *mumply Gorgie*, 127 ; *mumply Gorgio's*, 126 ; *mumply Gorgios*, 175.
37. *mush*, man, 332.
38. *pal*, brother, 306, 430 ; *pals*, 164, 317.
39. *patrin*, trail, 142, 160, 167, 190 ; *patrin-chase*, 143, 155, 160.
40. *pen*, to tell, 173 ; *penned my dukkerin*, 430 ; *penning dukking*, 331.
41. *posh*, half : *posh balanser*, half-sovereign, 156 ; *posh-courna*, half-crown, 156.
42. *rei*, gentleman, sir [nom. and voc.], 126, 127, 130, 155, 156, 178 and (f.n.), 179, 302, 304, 353 ; *reia* [voc.], 126, 138, 141, 152, 153, 155, 191, 223, 224, 225, 329, 341, 431 ; *rye*. See under *Romany*.
43. *rocker*, to speak to, 332 ; *rokkra Romanes*, to speak in Romani, 126.
44. *rokkerpen*, talk (sb.), 126.
45. *Romanes*, [G. language], 126, 165, 166.
46. *Romany*, [Gypsy, adj. and sb.], 139, 141, 153, 156, 163, 174, 175, 179, 184, 185, 223, 231, 290, 337, 341, 348, 419, 426 ; *Romany's*, 337 ; *Romany chal*, 141 ; *Romany chals*, 141, 161, 175 ; *Romany chal's*, 139 ; *Romany chi*, 141, 162, 171, 322, 417 ; *Romany chi's*, 139, 430 ; *Romany chies*, 138, 141, 165, 175 ; *Romany rokkerpen*, 126 ; *Romany rei*, 164 ; *Romany Rye*, 178, 340 ; *Romany Sap*, G. snake, conscience, 336, 337, 339, 431 ; *Romany saps*, 337 ; *Romanies*, 141, 162, 163, 167, 174, 186, 224, 225 and (f.n.), 306, 335, 336, 342.
- * 47. *sap*, a snake, 141, 142, 222, 337 ; *Romany Sap*, G. snake, conscience, 336, 337, 339, 431.
48. *tarno*, young : *Tarno Rye*, 173, 178 (f.n.), 225.
49. [*tasser*, to choke] : *beng te tassa mandi*, [devil choke me], 130, 163.

50. *te*, [particle taking subj. mood], 130, 163.
 51. *trúshul*, a cross, 142, 156, 222, 225, 329, 436.

III. From Theodore Watts-Dunton's *The Coming of Love*.

Page numbers are given from the Ninth Edition.

1. *aglal*, ago, 48 ; *aglal*, 37.
2. *bal*, hair, 37, 38, 47.
3. *bavals*, winds, 71.
4. *boro*, big, 66.
5. *canners*, ears, 37, 38.
6. *chavi*, [daughter], xxvi, child, 35.
7. *chaw*, grass, 25, 67, 72.
8. *chi*, girl, 45, 73. See *Romany chi* ; *chy*, 38.
9. [*chin-*, to cut]: *a-chinnin*, cutting, 80.
10. *chirikli*, hen bird, 74 ; *chirikel*, 47 ; *chorin chiriklo*, cuckoo, 81 ; *chirikels*, birds, 21, 23, 24, 36, 97 ; *chiriklos*, 46.
11. *chollo*, whole, 77.
12. *choon*, month, 37 ; *choons*, 48.
13. *choori*, poor, 46.
14. [*chor-*, to steal]: *chorin chiriklo*, cuckoo, 81.
15. *chorihan*, witch, 82.
16. *chuffas*, petticoats, 72.
17. *clisson*, lock, 47, 70.
18. *comly*, loving, 38.
19. *dabla*, faith! 37.
20. *danniers*, teeth, 36, 37, 38.
21. *doeey*, two, 48.
22. *dordi*, faith! 36.
23. *dray*, in, 37.
24. *dukkerin'*, fortune-telling, 23 ; *dukkerin*, prophesying, 64 ; good luck, 34.
25. *dukkeripen*, fortune, 32 (*f.n.*), 34, 91 ; 'second sight,' 66 ; 'nature's prophetic symbol,' 84 ; 'symbol,' 100.
26. *ghyllie*, song, 67, 69, 73, 74, 79 ; *ghyllies*, songs, 24, 78.
27. *gie*, wheat, 78.
28. *Gorgie*, [non-G. woman], xvii, 25 ; *Gorgio*, [non-G. man], xix, xxv, 28 ; 'gentile,' 86 ; *Gorgios*, xxiv, xxvi, xxvii, 27, 33 ; *gorgio-billies*, gentile men, 24 ; *gorgio-sillies*, gentile women, 24 ; *mumple gorgie*, miserable gentile, 82.
29. *Griengroes*, [horse-dealers], vii ; *Gryengroes*, xvi.
30. *gry*, horse, 35 ; *sooterin grei*, sleeping horse, 48 ; *greis*, horses, 77.
31. *kairs*, homes, 26.
32. *kas*, hay, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 71, 78 ; *kas-kairin*, hay-making, 23, 73.
33. *kem*, sun, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 68.
34. [*ker-*, to make]: *kas-kairin*, hay-making, 23, 73.
35. *kollo*, black, 78 ; *korley*, dark, 47 ; *korly*, 38 [*kálo*].
36. *lel*, get, 37.
37. *lennor*, summer, 22, 23, 73. [Borrow's form.]
38. *lollo*, red, 64, 66, 80.
39. *loon*, salt, 77. [Groome's form.]
40. *mendys*, our, 37.
41. *mer*, die, 76.
42. *minaw*, mine own, 82 [cf. Groome, *Kriegspiel*, p. 350].
43. *moeey*, mouth, 36, 37, 56.
44. *mollo*, spirit, 77. [See W.-D.'s note.]
45. *mumple*, miserable, xxvi, xxvii ; *mumple gorgie*, miserable gentile, 82 ; *mumple Gorgio*, xxvii.
46. *nock*, nose, 37, 38.
47. *pallal*, back [adv.], 65, 77.
48. *pattinor*, leaves, 68.
49. *pennin*, prophesying [telling], 64.
50. *pur*, field, 25, 44, 48, 49 ; *puvs*, fields, 74.
51. *rawnee*, lady, xxv, xxvii ; *rawni*, 45, 46, 47, 50, 82 ; *Romany rawnee*, xxvi.
52. *rinkeni*, handsome, 48 ; *rinkenny*, pretty, 72 ; *rinkenny moey*, pretty mouth, 56.
53. *Romany* [Gypsy], vi, xiv, xv, xix ; *Romany Chal*, xvii ; *Romany-chal*, 86 ; *Romany chi*, xvi, xviii, xxii, 65 ; *Romany chies*, 25, 57, 95 ; *Romanies*, xiv, xxv, 34, 98.
54. *rove*, weep, 78.
55. *rye*, [gentleman], 38, 48, 76 ; *tarno rye*, 77 ; *Tarno liye*, xvii, 83 ; *tarnow Rye*, 37 ; *ryes*, 22, 24 ; *rei*, 65 ; *rei's*, 64.
56. *sal*, laugh [vb.], 77.

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| 57. <i>shoshu</i> , hare, 68 ; <i>shoshus</i> , 25. | 62. <i>tuv</i> , smoke, 77. |
| 58. <i>shoon</i> , hear, 77. | 63. <i>vardey</i> , waggon, 77. |
| 59. <i>sooterin grei</i> , sleeping horse, 48. | 64. <i>vesh</i> , wood, 49. |
| 60. <i>tan</i> , tent, 37, 44, 48, 49 ; <i>tans</i> , tents, 77. | 65. <i>wel</i> , come, 71. |
| 61. <i>tarno</i> , young, xvii, 64, 65, 68 ; <i>tarnow</i> , 37. | 66. <i>yiv</i> , snow, 78. |
| | 67. <i>yorkers</i> , eyes, 36, 37, 38. |
| | 68. <i>zee</i> , heart, 46. |

IV. From M'Cormick's *The Tinkler Gypsies*, 2nd Edition, 1907. Many of the Tinker words given in this book are good Romani, but these are dealt with in another article. The words arranged here are all from chap. v. (pp. 232-65), detailing meetings with Boswells and Smiths in Galloway. 'The *Chumomistos* speak with a nice English accent. Their accent, coupled with a melodious rounding of the vowels in such words as *Borrow*, *morro* (bread), *lollo* (red), makes their speech very pleasant to listen to' (p. 237). 'I observed that the C——s prefer to use *w* in place of *v*, using *wardo* and *wafedi* instead of *vardo* and *vafedi*' (p. 255). The two words quoted here (*morro* and *lollo*) do not occur in the dialogue between M'Cormick and his Gypsies, so perhaps the Romani words put in his own mouth may have been got from them along with others not used in this scene, but they may have been known beforehand from books or other sources.

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|---|---|
| 1. <i>adoi</i> , there : <i>dik adoi</i> , look there, 257. | 17. <i>'kavri-koshts</i> , kettle-props, 258. |
| 2. <i>bangeri</i> , a waistcoat, 254. | 18. <i>kei</i> , where ? <i>kei see yoi</i> , where is she ? 251. |
| 3. <i>boro</i> , great, 239. | 19. <i>kluchni</i> , a hedge-stake, 254. |
| 4. <i>chei</i> , girl : <i>rinkeni chei</i> , pretty girl, 250. | 20. <i>kon</i> , who ? <i>kon see yon</i> ? 257. |
| 5. <i>chiriclo</i> , G. bird, 257. | 21. <i>koori</i> , pot, 258. |
| 6. <i>chooma</i> , a kiss : <i>muk mande del tutti a chooma</i> , let me give you a kiss, 249. | 22. <i>koorin Rom'nichal</i> , fighting G., 252. |
| 7. <i>churi</i> , a knife, 239. | 23. <i>kooromengro</i> , pugilist, 254. |
| 8. <i>del</i> , [to] give, 254 ; <i>muk mande del tutti a chooma</i> , 249. | 24. [<i>kosht</i> , stick] : <i>'kavri-koshts</i> , kettle-props, 258. |
| 9. [<i>dik</i> -, to see] : <i>dik adoi</i> , look there, 257. | 25. <i>korra</i> , thing, 255. |
| 10. <i>dood</i> , light, 238. | 26. <i>lel</i> , take, 254 ; <i>lelled</i> , taken, 245. |
| 11. <i>dovra</i> , that, 255. | 27. <i>lil</i> , book, 255. |
| 12. [<i>duker</i> -, <i>durik</i> -, to tell fortunes] : <i>duklerin'tan</i> , fortune-telling tent, 232 ; <i>durrikin tan</i> , 247, 249. | 28. <i>lollo</i> , red, 237. |
| 13. <i>gorgios</i> , [non-Gs.], 243 ; <i>wafedi gorgios</i> , wicked house-dwellers, 233. | 29. <i>mande</i> , me : <i>muk mande del tutti a chooma</i> , 249. |
| 14. <i>grye</i> , a horse, 239. | 30. <i>morro</i> , bread, 237. |
| 15. <i>hokki</i> ! behold ! 257. | 31. <i>muk</i> , let : <i>muk mande del tutti a chooma</i> , 249. |
| 16. [<i>is</i> -, to be] : <i>kei see yoi</i> ? where is she ? 251 ; <i>kon see yon</i> ? who are they ? 257. | 31* <i>opre</i> , upon, 255. |
| | 32. <i>pani</i> , water, 239. |
| | 33. <i>perrov</i> , [to] walk, 255. |
| | 34. <i>riea</i> , king, 239. See <i>ryc</i> . |
| | 35. <i>rinkeni</i> , pretty : <i>rinkeni chei</i> , pretty girl, 250. |
| | 36. <i>Romanes</i> , G. language, 236, 237. |

37. *Rom'nichal*, Gypsy, 252, 258.
 38. *rye*, [gentleman], 249.
 39. *salivardo*, a bridle, 254.
 40. *see*. See *is*.
 41. *skammen*, a chair, 239.
 42. *tan*, tent: *dukkerin'tan*, 232; *durri-kin tan*, 247, 249; *yog tan*, camp fire, 225.
 43. *tooti*, you, 255; *muk mande del tutti a chooma*, 249.
 44. *wafedi*, bad, 255; *wafedi gorgios*, wicked house-dwellers, 233.
 45. *wardo*, van, 247, 255.
 46. *weriglo*, a watch-chain, 254.
 47. *yog*, fire: *yog tan*, camp fire, 255.
 48. *yoi*, she: *kei see yoi?* where is she? 251.
 49. *yon*, they: *kon see yon?* who are they? 257.

V. From the Rev. H. H. Malleson's *Napoleon Boswell*, 1913. Mr. Malleson states that his words were obtained all over the North of England from all sorts of Gypsies. The forms in square brackets with the vowel-quantities marked have been supplied by him.

1. *adoi*, there, 3, 124.
 2. *akai*, [here]: *avakai!* come on, 122.
 3. *alé*, down, 158.
 4. *apré*, up, 51.
 5. *atch*: *atch apré*, wake up, 51.
 6. [*av-*, to come]: *av akai!* come on, 122.
 7. *avali*, yes, 64. [*árali*.]
 8. *avo*, yes, 24. [*ávo*.]
 9. *bar*, pound, 116, 210, 211, 228.
 10. *beng*, devil, 226, 227; *bengs*, devils, 226.
 11. *bengesko*, devil's, 112.
 12. *besk*, lie (vb.), 158.
 13. *bibi*, aunt, 35. [*bibi*.]
 14. *bok*, luck, 309.
 15. *charo*, boy, 3; *chavia*, children, 221. [*chāvo*.]
 16. [*chor-*, to steal]: *chored*, stole, 52, 164; *chored*, stolen, 104.
 17. *chovihani*, witch, 220. [*chovihāni*.]
 18. *dabla!* [an exclamation], 69, 168.
 19. *daia*, [voc.], mother, 205.
 20. *deari*, dear, 168.
 21. *delomengro*, kicking horse, 109, 111.
 22. *dik*, look, 114.
 23. *dinelo*, fool, 307.
 24. *dordi* [an exclamation], 4, 5, 50, 61, 72, 82, 87, 95, 104, 105, 138, 150, 162, 210, 215, 220.
 25. *drabin'*, poisoning, 282.
 26. *drom*, road, 112.
 27. *dukerin*, fortune-telling: *dukerin a muskro*, telling the fortune of a policeman, 252. [*dúkerin*.]
 28. *dush*, evil, 88. [*dūsh*.]
 29. *Duvel*, God, 168: *mi deari-Duvel*, my dear God, 211, 273, 303; *mi-duvel*, my God! 3, 5, 6, 89, 90, 94, 106, 108, 115, 165, 174, 205, 223, 228; *mi-Duvel's*, my God's, 53; *mi-duvelésti*, by my God, 36, 104, 205. [*dūvel*.]
 30. *gavengro*, policeman, 87; *gavengré*, police, 177.
 31. *gawjo*, non-G., 4, 158, 220, 222, 239, 240. *gawjos*, 114, 138, 184; *gorjo*, 223. [*gájo*.]
 32. *grai*, horse, 205; *graiia* [*greiá*], horses, 7; *graiias*, 228.
 33. *graiengro*, horse-dealer, 5, 78.
 34. *guno*, bag: *mongin'-guno*, begging-bag, 68, 195, 290. [*gūno*.]
 35. *hatsh*, to pitch, [to stop], 107, 163; *hatshin'-tan*, camping-place, stopping-place, 94, 98, 112, 118, 153. [*atch*, *atš*.]
 36. *havra*, penny, 228.
 37. *hobben*, food, 160, 162.
 38. *jukul*, dog, 158. [*jukul*.]
 39. *kanengro*, hare, 124, 129. [*kānen-gro*.]
 40. *kawlo*, black, dark, 22, 112; *kawlo rat*, dark blood, 22, 220; *kawli*, dark people, 4. [*kālo*.]
 41. *kokero*, self, 229.
 42. *kushto*, good, 309. [*kūshto*.]
 43. [*lel-*, to take]: *lel*, take, 114; *lelled*, arrested, 278.
 44. *mandi*, me, 114.
 45. *meripen*, life, 114.
 46. *mi*, my, 114, 168. See under *Duvel*.

47. *mongin'-guno*, begging-bag, 68, 195, 290.
48. *mor*, kill, 159.
49. *motto*, drunk, 276.
50. [*müllo*, dead]: *mullé mushé*, [*müllé mūshé*], ghosts, 153.
51. [*mūsh*, a man]: *mullé mushé* [*müllé mūshé*], ghosts, 153.
52. *muskro*, policeman, 252; *muskros*, police, 240.
53. *panj*, five, 116.
54. *parni*, [water]: *tatto parni*, whisky, 280. [*pāni*.]
55. *piryno*, sweetheart, 39.
56. *posh*, halfpenny, 309; *posh* and *posh*, half-breeds, 9; *posh* an' *posh*, half-breed, 102; *posh-rat*, 195.
57. *prastermēngro*, policeman, 36, 51; *prastermēngré*, 51, 55. [*prāster-mēngro*.]
58. *rashai's*, parson's, 205.
59. *rat*, blood, 22; *kawlo rat*, dark blood, 22, 220; *posh-rat*, half-breed, 195. [*rāt*.]
60. *ratvalo*, [bloody], 104. [*rātvalo*.]
61. *roker*, talk (vb.), 24.
62. *Romané*, Gypsies, 48, 55; *Romani*, Gypsy [language], 24; *Romani-chel*, Gypsy, 76.
63. *sap*, blindworm, 87.
64. *tan*, tent, 107, 163; *hatshin' tan*, camping-place, stopping-place, 94, 98, 112, 118, 153.
65. *tatcho*, true, right, 202, 228.
66. *tatto*, [hot]: *tatto parni*, whisky, 280.
67. *teero*, your, 3. [*tīro*.]
68. *titi*, you (acc.), 159. [*tūti*.]
69. *tuvlo*, tobacco, 196. [*tūvlo*.]
70. *wastēngré*, handcuffs, 55.

VI. From Miss G. M. Imlach's *Freda's Fortune*.

1. [*bes-*, to sit]: *bes* [imperat.], 35.
2. *bor*, [brother], 150, 184, 197, 198.
3. *boree*, [great], 90, 110.
4. *chiriklo*, [bird], 95; *Romany chiriklo*, [water-wagtail], 80, 81, 82, 83; *chiriklos*, 32, 101.
5. *chye*, [girl, maiden], 10, 35, 43, 62, 102, 134, 155, 175, 189, 191; *Romany chye*, [Gypsy maid], 12, 29, 38, 43, 60, 85, 99, 104, 141, 156, 162, 168, 175, 192, 198; *Romany chyes*, 152, 176.
6. *dabla*, [an exclamation], 59, 64, 70, 136, 173, 177, 201.
7. *drabbed*, [poisoned], 180.
8. *drooker*, [to tell fortunes], 12, 54, 83, 87, 89, 93, 158; *drookered*, 93; *drookering*, 14, 41, 87, 191.
9. *dordee*, [an exclamation], 25, 40, 51, 52, 84, 99, 102, 134, 148, 153, 178, 193, 201, 207.
10. [*Duvel*, God]: my *Duvel's*, [my God's], 191.
11. *dye*, [mother], 90, 101, 131, 132, 160, 191, 193.
12. *gorjee*, [non-G. woman], 28, 90, 101, 176; *gorjees*, 175, 193; *gorjo*, [non-G. man], 49, 65, 132, 138, 152, 173, 183, 191; *gorjo's*, 101; *gorjos*, 34, 54, 55, 76, 81, 89, 90, 92, 93, 99, 102, 110, 135, 149, 160, 162, 173, 176, 192, 197, 201; *gorjos'*, 39, 96.
13. *grye*, [a horse], 41, 42, 65, 112, 121, 168; *gryes*, 41, 46, 54, 107, 112, 116, 132, 138, 139, 148, 149, 158.
14. *gryengree*, [horsemawoman], 214; *gryengro*, [horse-dealer], 41, 202; *gryengros*, 41, 185, 196.
15. *hokanee*, [trick], 90, 110.
16. *hotchiewitchie*, [hedgehog], 78, 79, 80; *hotchiewitchies*, 78, 79, 153.
17. *jukel*, [dog], 180, 182.
18. *kushkee*, [good], 189.
19. *nav*, [name], 197.
20. *pal*, [brother], 175, 197.
21. *patterin*, [trail], 86, 92, 95, 122, 123, 129, 131; *Romany patterin*, [Gypsy trail], 86.
22. *pawnee*, [water]: *tatto pawnee*, brandy, 64.
23. [*posh*, half]: *poshrat*, [half-breed], 21, 84; *poshrats*, [half-breeds], 54, 184, 193.
24. [*rat*, blood]: *poshrat*, 28, 84; *poshrats*, 54, 184, 193.
25. *ratee*, [night], 189.
26. *rawnee*, missie, [lady], 10-210 *passim*; *rawnee's*, 42, 73, 99, 100; *rawnees*, 74, 93, 175, 193; *Romany rawnee*, 141.
27. *rom*, [husband], 29, 136.
28. *Romany chel*, [Gypsy], 46, 82, 101, 140, 181, 183, 197; *Romany chels*, [Gypsies], 12, 39, 44, 46, 49, 53, 54, 55, 61, 65, 67, 81, 82, 86, 89,

- 92, 98, 99, 103, 111, 135, 136, 143, 148, 159, 162, 163, 169, 176, 179, 182, 191, 192, 193.
29. *Romany chyē*, [Gypsy girl], 12, 29, 38, 43, 60, 85, 99, 104, 141, 156, 162, 168, 175, 192, 198; *Romany chyēs*, 152, 176.
30. *ryē*, [gentleman], 54, 59, 60, 64, 67, 69, 72, 73, 74, 88, 89, 94, 163, 170, 173, 204, 209; *ryē's*, 168; *ryēs*, 54, 74, 93, 174, 193.
31. *sar*, [how], 184, 197.
32. *shan*, art thou, 184, 197.
33. *talay*, down, 35.
34. *tan*, [camping-place], 10, 11, 14, 34, 73, 90, 131, 168, 169, 181.
35. *tarno*, [young]: *tarno grye*, [young horse], 110, 112, 118, 138, 140, 183, 196, 200, 201.
36. *tatto*, [hot]: *tatto pawnee*, brandy, 64.
37. *reshengro*, [gamekeeper], 179; *reshengros*, 181.
38. *zee*, [heart], 95.

REVIEW

Allward. By E. S. STEVENS

London: Messrs. Mills and Boon, 1915

THE lady who uses the pseudonym E. S. Stevens, under which she has written several romances, has turned her attention to the Gypsies of the New Forest. Hers is a facile pen, and her narrative style, as befits a practised writer, is smooth and flowing. In *Allward* she has given us a story of a hackneyed type but well constructed, and gaining interest from the fact that her Gypsies are, if somewhat 'gorgified,' yet genuine enough. The picture she draws of Gypsy life and ways of thought is excellent. Naturally her interest lies mainly with the women, whose prolific child-bearing appears to shock her sensibilities unduly. Transylvanian Gypsy women repeat a charm to insure fruitfulness, and the race could not have survived through centuries of persecution had modern eugenics formed part of the Romany law. One might with justice complain of the too frequent allusions to the varying aspects of nature in the New Forest, which forms the setting of the tale, and the ingenious trifler might construct without much trouble a Hampshire weather chart for the period covered by the book. The degree to which amatory feelings overcome Lyddon in his intercourse with the *Romani chai*, Mary James, depends to a notable extent on these atmospheric changes. It is an irritating trick of the trade that is but a parody of the method of Thomas Hardy.

All that concerns the wandering folk, however, is of great interest; not least the Romani vocabulary they employ. Quite wisely Miss Stevens refrains from translating where the meaning of a word is clear from the context, and, as she remarks in a short

preface, 'where it is not . . . it does not matter to the narrative.' There are some strange words, as one might expect. Curiously, such witnesses as there are do not agree in detail as to the peculiarities of this dialect. The proper investigation of New Forest Romani is one of the most useful pieces of work in the field of Gypsy philology that can be undertaken by the British investigator. Perhaps 'some fool of a writer' will risk Miss Stevens' displeasure and go down to the New Forest to find out the truth. The fact that the Gypsy Lore Society is still in ignorance of the peculiarities of the Romani spoken in the neighbourhood of Christchurch will perhaps serve as a sufficient refutation of the unmannerly attack the authoress makes on 'a society for collecting Gypsy lore' (page 135).

While she was about it we wonder she did not boldly mention the name of the society with that of its 'fool of a' member, since she does not hesitate to give the true name of one of her best studies from life, the old *chorihaun*. This kind of indiscretion members of the Gypsy Lore Society are at pains to avoid. 'Presumably Mrs. Cooper is unable to read the description of herself in *Allward*; but on her account, as well as on our own, we repeat her favourite expression: 'You treat me *tatcho*, and I'll treat you *tatcho*.' Miss Stevens treats neither the Gypsy Lore Society nor the poor old Gypsy woman *tatcho*. This is the more to be regretted, since the greater part of the exceedingly accurate details of Romany ways was, we are given to understand, supplied to her by one of our own members. *J. G. L. S.* is written plainly over many a page in the book.

VOCABULARY FROM 'ALLWARD'

Compiled by Alexander Russell

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| 1. <i>adray</i> , [in, on], 160. | 65, 83, 84, 313; <i>bars</i> , 21, 42, 65, |
| 2. <i>akai</i> , [here], 317. | 152, 163, 364. |
| 3. <i>alay</i> , [down], 199, 355. | 12. <i>bars</i> , [stones], 208. |
| 4. <i>asaurus</i> , [meaningless], 8. | 13. <i>Beng</i> , [the Devil], 202. |
| 5. <i>atch</i> , [to stay, encamp], 127, 314, | 14. <i>bes</i> , [sit], 199, 355. |
| 355; <i>atchin'</i> , 64, 65; <i>atching</i> , | 15. <i>bishored</i> , [sent, transported], 327. |
| 177, 268. | 16. <i>bokkt</i> , [luck], 249, 296. Final <i>t</i> is |
| 6. <i>atrash</i> , [afraid], 356, 365. | unusual in Anglo-Romani. |
| 7. <i>avri</i> , [away], 160, 161. | 17. <i>bor</i> , [hedge], 317. |
| 8. <i>awali</i> , [yes], 293, 317. | 18. <i>boro</i> , [big, great], 8, 82 (f.n.), 145, |
| 9. <i>a-wellin'</i> , [(a-)coming], 93, 343. | 197, 199, 202, 311, 312, 354, |
| 10. <i>bal</i> , [hair], 64. | 358, 361, 370; <i>bori</i> , 327. |
| 11. <i>bar</i> , [pound, sovereign], 21, 26, 42, | 19. <i>buddige</i> , [shop], 199. |

20. *burk*, [breast], 46, 297.
21. *chai*, [daughter, maiden], 201, 202, 204, 312, 358.
22. *chavi*, [child], 46, 47, 271, 372; *chavis*, 41, 47, 74, 75, 107, 108, 142, 145, 152, 156, 167, 168, 197, 202, 259, 260, 271, 296, 297, 298, 343.
23. *chee*, [nothing], 176, 256.
24. *chinger*, [to quarrel], 297; *chingered*, 155, 328.
25. *chivved*, [put], 88.
26. *chochta*, [cloak], 328. (*Ploxta* assimilated to *čoka*.)
27. *choomer*, [a kiss], 204; *choomers*, 47.
28. *choomerin'*, [kissing], 266; *a-choomerin'*, 255.
29. *chovihaun*, [witch], 200, 201, 204, 249, 312, 313, 317, 355.
30. *danyors*, [teeth], 63.
31. *del*, [to give, hit, strike], 8, 81, 356; *dels*, 41; *delled*, 7, 161, 256, 342; *a-dellin*, 247.
32. *dibli*, ['dibble'], 210; *dibli wast*, sign-post. (Compare the form *dibati wast* heard from a Mrs. Scamp some years ago.)
33. *didakais*, [half-breeds], 44, 47, 53.
34. *dikk*, [to see], 41, 64, 66, 293, 354, 357; *dikked*, 81, 95, 127.
35. *diklo*, [handkerchief], 231, 232, 250.
36. *dinn*, [a fool], 204, 298, 354, 369.
37. *dinnelo*, [fool, foolish], 8; *dinnlo*, 80, 208.
38. *divvuses*, [days], 293.
39. *divvy*, [daft], 8, 9, 64, 76, 169, 193, 358.
40. *divvyken*, [madhouse], 81.
41. *dookeriben*, [fortune], 201.
42. *dordi*, [faith!], 17, 25, 81, 152, 293, 299, 332, 355.
43. *drab*, [poison, medicine], 9, 64.
44. *drabengro*, [doctor], 64, 65, 66.
45. *drum*, [road], 63, 66, 203, 210, 361.
46. *dukker*, [to tell fortunes], 200, 202, 203, 316; *dooker*, 83, 84, 126; *dookered*, 84, 249; *dookkered*, 84; *dukkered*, 198, 201, 202; *dookkerin'*, 83; *dukkerin*, 350, 369; *dukkerin'*, 19, 203, 361.
47. *Duvelus*, [God], 80, 155, 362; *Duvel*, 21, 158, 101, 163, 284, 326; *Miduvelus*, 84.
48. *fawnie*, [ring], 208; *fawnies*, 201, 341. [Cant from Irish.]
49. *fokry*, [folk], 93; *folki*, 145.
50. *frazzlengro*, [frying-pan], 371; *frazzlengros*, 34. [Eng. with Romani termination.]
51. *gairo*, [man], 299; *gairy*, 43.
52. *gaujo*, [non-G., gentile], 41, 76, 192, 199, 210, 229, 245, 250, 333, 334, 343, 358; *gauji*, 47, 203, 232, 245, 293, 314; *gaujis*, 84, 122, 293; *gaujos*, 201, 250, 354.
53. *gavengros*, [police], 21, 26, 193.
54. *garmush*, [policeman], 75, 93, 160, 161, 162; *gavmushes*, [police], 24, 44, 126, 127, 208, 371.
55. *gillis*, [songs], 9.
56. *godli*, [noise], 161, 361.
57. *granzi*, [barn], 160.
58. *gry*, [horse], 52, 70, 161; *gries*, 41, 43, 142.
59. *hatchin'*, [staying], 41.
60. *haura*, [clock], 45.
61. *hawben*, [food], 19, 355.
62. *hokkanied*, [tricked], 193.
63. *hoveed*, [came], 161 (see 112 *ov*.)
64. *huckabens*, [lies], 194.
65. *jals*, [goes], 63; *jalled*, [went], 9, 74, 127, 161; *jallin'*, 343.
66. *jib*, [tongue], 7, 8, 48.
67. *jin*, [to know], 362; *jins*, 145.
68. *jookel*, [dog], 81.
69. *joovel*, [woman, wife], 41, 65, 71, 81; *joovels*, 41.
70. *kaulo*, [black], 45, 64, 299; *kauli*, 293; *kaulie*, 313.
71. *kavvi*, [kettle], 46, 121, 342.
72. *kavvi-kosht*, [kettle-prop], 110.
73. *kekavri*, [kettle], 353.
74. *kekker*, no, not, 8, 17, 19, 201, 204, 211, 256, 352, 358.
75. *kel*, [play], 161, 327.
76. *ker*, [to do, make], 167, 195, 293, 355; *kered*, [made], 43.
77. *kissi*, [purse], 66.
78. *kisind*, [the lock-up], 312. (An unusual form.)
79. *kom*, [to love], 282; *koms*, 178, 208, 272, 341, 365, 369.
80. *koor*, [to beat, fight], 93, 158, 161; *koored*, 70, 328; *a-koored*, 71.
81. *koorengro*, [boxer], 299.
82. *koruna*, [crown], 52.
83. *kosht*, [stick], 195, 258, 361.

84. *kukero*, [self], 43 ; *kukri*, 145, 318, 355.
 85. *kullas*, [shillings], 9, 247.
 86. *kunsi*, [corner], 273.
 87. *kushti*, [good], 82 (f.n.), 161, 327, 365 ; *kushti-dikkin*, [good-looking], 44, 45, 263.
 88. *ladge*, [shame], 81.
 89. *lav*, [word], 8, 47, 76, 108, 145, 355 ; *lavs*, 82 (f.n.)
 90. *lel*, [to take], 21, 24, 26, 80, 93, 160, 161, 208, 327, 333, 355, 356 ; *lels*, 19, 84 ; *lelled*, 53, 96, 161 ; *a-lelled*, 81.
 91. *levina*, [beer], 70, 96, 106, 247, 293, 298.
 92. *lil*, [paper, book], 82 (f.n.), 202, 203, 204, 211, 212, 312.
 93. *lubby*, [harlot], 41, 43, 202, 247, 359.
 94. *lurrel*, [money], 19. (Perhaps by analogy, cf. *jura*, *juvel*.)
 95. *mandy*, I, me, 160, 211, 256, 266, 317, 327, 356, 360, 365.
 96. *mauro*, [bread], 42.
 97. *meriben*, [life], 64.
 98. *mor*, [to kill], 8, 23, 356 ; *mored*, [killed], 65, 211.
 99. *moskler*, [policeman], 311, 333.
 100. *motto*, [drunk], 96, 164, 302, 313, 365 ; *morto*, 70.
 101. *mui*, [face, mouth], 7, 44.
 102. *mulleni*, [haunted], 94, 127 ; *mulleni-tan*, churchyard, 93.
 103. *mullo*, [ghost], 25, 95 ; *mullos*, 95, 127, 129.
 104. *munged*, [begged], 161 ; *amunged*, 161.
 105. *mush*, [man], 23, 43, 45, 46, 76, 77, 81, 158, 161, 172, 197, 199, 208, 297, 298, 317, 326, 328, 332, 354, 356, 358, 360, 365 ; *mushes*, 156.
 106. *myla*, [donkey], 128, 343.
 107. *naflo*, [ill], 64, 370.
 108. *nashered*, [ran (transit)], 161.
 109. *nok*, [nose], 7.
 110. *opray*, [up, across], 278, 327.
 111. *ora*, [watch], 26. See *haura*.
 112. *ov*, [to come], 161, 172, 247, 317, 355 ; *ovd*, 161.
 113. *pani*, [water], 327. See *tatti*.
 114. *panj*, [five], 9, 247.
 115. *patrin*, [trail], 189, 207.
 116. *peass*, [fun], 70 ; *peass*, 195, 293.
 117. *pee*, [to drink], 293 ; *a-peed*, 70, 298.
 118. *pecamexy*, [tea], 24, 48.
 119. *peerdie*, [tramp], 47 ; *peerdies*, 32, 42, 371.
 120. *perios*, legs, [feet], 18.
 121. *poggado*, [broken], 19 ; *poggerin'*, [breaking], 278.
 122. *pookers*, [asks], 145, 360 ; *pookerin'*, 361 ; *pootched*, 65. [*pooker* means to tell, but seems to be confused here with *pootch*.]
 123. *poppas*, [misprint for *koppas*, blankets], 127.
 124. *posh*, [half], 47, 152.
 125. *praster*, [to run], 357.
 126. *pur*, [belly], 161, 297.
 127. *putsy*, [pocket], 266, 341.
 128. *puv*, [to put to grass], 161.
 129. *raffaly*, [bloody], 41, 358 ; *rafully*, 81 ; *raffally*, 333.
 130. *rakli*, [girl], 21, 45, 63, 125, 160, 161, 172, 202, 258, 358.
 131. *ranyors*, [rods], 105.
 132. *rashai*, [parson], 81, 82 ; *rashais*, 81.
 133. *rati*, [night], 160.
 134. *raunie*, [lady], 64, 70, 142, 145, 163, 166, 195, 203, 233, 269, 282, 293, 297, 313, 314, 343, 366, 369 ; *raunies*, 70, 249.
 135. *rinkeni*, [pretty], 293.
 136. *rokker*, [to speak, talk], 8, 47, 198.
 137. *Romany*, [G. language], 134.
 138. *Romany*, [G.], 123, 145, 161 ; *Romany chals*, 126 ; *Romany chavis*, 122 ; *Romany rakli*, 202, 327 ; *Romany raunie*, 195.
 139. *rookers*, [trees], 312.
 140. *rummer*, [to marry], 81, 358 ; *rummered*, 63, 81, 270.
 141. [*rurer*, to weep]: *a-ruverin'*, weeping, 6.
 142. *rye*, [gentleman], 70, 141, 145, 200, 202, 204, 210, 255, 303, 311, 312, 314, 333, 358, 360, 361, 365, 370 ; *ryes*, 70.
 143. *saulo*, morrow, 362.
 144. *sar*, [to laugh], 17, 33 ; *sarcin*, 63, 343.
 145. *sherro*, [head], 81, 294, 317.
 146. *shoon*, [listen], 80, 142, 317.
 147. *shubli*, [? broom], 161. [Used here as epithet with Eng. 'cart'.]
 148. *shushy*, [rabbit], 53, 210 ; *shushies*, 89.
 149. *sig*, [quickly], 355 ; *see*, 167.

150. *sore*, [to sleep], 81; *sored*, 160.
 151. *stardy*, [hat], 294.
 152. *stuggas*, [rick], 161.
 153. *swaggler*, [pipe], 77, 311.
 154. *tachipen*, [truly], 272.
 155. *tan*, [tent], 18, 75, 164, 168, 172, 201, 202, 228, 249, 311, 314, 355, 365; *tans*, 20.
 156. *tardred*, [drew], 358.
 157. *tutcho*, [real, true], 208, 313, 334, 361, 365.
 158. [*tutto*, hot]: *tutti pani* [whisky, brandy], 16; *tutti panni*, 32, 95, 96, 313, 368.
 159. *tawni*, [little, young], 160, 312.
 160. *tikno*, [little, baby], 145, 298.
 161. *tober*, [road], 81, 360. (Cant.)
 162. *tool*, [hold], 8.
 163. *tringursh*, [shilling], 203.
 164. *tut*, [thee, you (acc.)], 81, 178.
 165. *vardo*, [van, wagon], 41, 44, 48; *urdo*, 65.
 166. *vassable*, [bad], 76, 247. [S. and C. 27, 28.]
 167. *vaster*, [hand], 361.
 168. *congr*, [money], 21, 299, 361.
 169. *wast*, [hand], 210.
 170. *wooser*, [to throw], 201.
 171. *yek*, [one], 7.
 172. *yog*, [fire], 125, 126, 201, 271, 353.
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NOTES AND QUERIES

14.—PETTIE AND WASHINGTON

In the *Transcript of the First Register Book of the Parish Church of Saint Matthew, Walsall* . . . by F. W. Willmore (Walsall, 1890), p. 103, among the baptisms is the following entry:—

‘1628 Aprill 3.—Daniell Washington and Margaret Pettie Which were in the house of corection there fathers called themselves Egyptians.’

The word Egyptians was at first written Egypsians.

Further evidence for Washington as a Gypsy name may be found in H. S. Cowper's edition of *The oldest Register Book of the Parish of Hockhead in Lancashire* (London, 1897), p. 180, where the baptism of ‘Thomas Washington fil Henry an Egiptian’ is recorded under the date Jan. 13, 1632.

Both these names are otherwise quite unknown to me as Gypsy names. Can any of our members furnish particulars about these Gypsy families?

E. O. WINSTEDT.

15.—SLAVIC PROVERBS RELATING TO GYPSIES

‘Der Bar mit seinem Tanzen fullt des Zigeuners Ranzen.

‘Des Baren Menuet macht den Zigeuner fett.

‘Dieses Sprüchwort leitet seinen Ursprung von der noch unlängst üblich gewesenem Barenzucht. Diese besteht jetzt nicht mehr; die tragen Zigeuner sind in Landbauern verwandelt. Es ist aber noch gar nicht lange her, dass die Zigeuner aus der Barenzucht ein wahres Gewerbe machten, welches ihnen Geld und allerlei Naturalien, insonderheit das bei diesem Volke so sehr beliebte Schweinfett in Fülle eintrug. Eine solche Lebensweise behagte den schwarzen Vagabunden gar sehr; und wurden sie gern mit ihren Petzen bis zum jüngsten Tage herumgewandert sein. Aber zu ihrem Unglück begnügten sie sich nicht mit freiwilligen Gaben—sie stahlen auch, besonders Pferde, Schweine, u. s. w. Da fasste man sie denn bald ab, und zwang sie, sich anzubauen und hinterm Pfluge zu gehen. Hieraus ersieht man, wie beissend und sinnschwer obiges Sprüchwort ist: der Bar tanzt, quält sich, plackt sich, und die Zigeuner sammelt

das Geld ein! . . . giebt es nicht auf Gottes Welt eine Menge solcher faulen Zigeuner, die vom Schweisse geplagter Baren fett werden! Der fröhrende Bauer bedient sich dieses Sprichworts gegen seinen Grundherren, welcher in dem Masse reicher wird, als jener herunterkommt.'—Altslawische und Russische Sprichwörter nebst Erklärung ihrer Abkunft und Bedeutung, nach dem Russischen von P. Szpibewski, in *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, vol. 13, p. 67 (Berlin, 1854).
 GEO. F. BLACK.

16.—GYPSY SONGS

Miss Vivien Edwards has been singing Serbian folk-songs and lecturing on them in aid of the Serbian Relief Fund. She obtained from our Society a few Serbian Gypsy songs, of which she includes at least one in her programme. Her exquisite soprano is heard to good advantage in *Aj Lumaj*, of which she sings one verse out of two in the peculiar nasal tones of the Balkan Gypsies.

17.—COPPERSMITH ROMANI

J. G. L. S., vii. 196, under the word *piškiri*, towel, the comment should be deleted. The word is Rumanian, Serbian, Turkish, and what not: widely used in Eastern languages. *Mášina* (p. 189) is Serbian for 'machine' used in colloquial Serbian for 'lucifer match.'

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

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G. = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

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